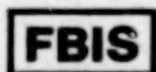


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14 November 1979

Latin America Report

No. 2070



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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LATIN AMERICA REPORT

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CONTENTS	PAGE
INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS	
Briefs	
Sugar Exporters Meeting	1
ARGENTINA	
Peronism Today: Factions, Postures Defined (CONFIRMADO, 18 Oct 79).....	2
Currents Within Peronism	
Justicialist Scenario	
Briefs	
Graphics Worker Disappears	15
French Delegation Ends Visit	15
New Greek Ambassador	15
New Ambassador to Kenya	15
New Colombian Ambassador	16
Spanish General Ends Visit	16
South African Trade Delegation	16
Laotian Refugees Arrive	16
President of Rural Confederation	16
CHILE	
Group of 24 Sets Forth Principles for New Constitution (HOY, 17 Oct 79).....	17
CUBA	
Ecuadorean Officer Explains Functions of Institute (Havana Domestic Service, 24 Oct 79).....	41

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

Havana Press Avoids 'Dramatizing' Guantanamo Maneuvers (THE DAILY GLEANER, 20 Oct 79).....	42
Havana Reports Lowest Infant Mortality Rate in Latin America (Havana Domestic Service, 17 Oct 79).....	43
Problems of Law, Order, Discipline, Absenteeism Aired (Various sources, various dates).....	44
Assembly Committees Study Bills Blas Roca Statement Additional Roca Remarks Executive Committee Hearings Vilma Espin on Crime Prevention	
Internal Economic Conditions Reported to 'GRANMA' (Gabriel Molina; GRANMA, 21 Sep 79).....	48
Garcia Frias Announces Industrial Projects (Havana Domestic Service, 23 Oct 79).....	51
Home Electric Appliance Repair Problems Investigated (Emilio del Barrio Menendez; GRANMA, 19 Sep 79).....	53
Television Sets Now Available for 650 Pesos (GRANMA, 19 Sep 79).....	54
Camacho Aguilera Attends Havana Port Congestion Meeting (Havana Domestic Service, 17 Oct 79).....	55
Nipe Bay Port Development Work Gets Under Way (Emilio del Barrio Menendez; GRANMA, 21 Sep 79).....	56
Milian Announces New Sugarcane Varieties (Havana Domestic Service, 27 Oct 79).....	57

JAMAICA

Jamaican Urges Bahamas To Crush Communism (Gladstone Thurston; THE TRIBUNE, 20 Oct 79).....	58
Seaga Says Kingston Becoming Subversion Capital (THE DAILY GLEANER, 22 Oct 79).....	60

CONTENT (Continued)	Page
Briefs	
Mahfood Scores Illicit Imports	63
Manley-U.S. Travel Industry Meet	63
NICARAGUA	
Workers Front Denounces FSLN Persecution (EL PUEBLO, 23 Oct 79).....	64
Government Issues Fiscal Regularization Law (BARRICADA, 24 Oct 79).....	66
URUGUAY	
Opposition Leaders in Exile Interviewed (Various sources, 19 Sep, 5 Oct 79).....	69
Ferreira on Political Future	
Vilaro on Objectives, Activities, by Sara Arias	
VENEZUELA	
Jaime Lusinchi Discusses AD Internal Situation (Jaime Lusinchi Interview; BOHEMIA, 8-14 Oct 79).....	83

BRIEFS

SUGAR EXPORTERS MEETING--Jamaica's parliamentary secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Derrick Heaven, has praised the unity of Latin American and Caribbean sugar exporting countries which he said has been an important factor in the exchange of technology and cooperation. Mr Heaven, who is in Mexico attending the 11th annual meeting of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean Sugar Exporting Countries [GEPLACEA] also rated the immediate prospects on the world sugar market as excellent. The 5-day meeting of sugar specialists is being held in an effort to achieve improved price levels that will make the region's sugar production viable. The meeting is expected to lead to the forging of a common regional position for the assembly of the International Sugar Organization which is to be held in London next month in an attempt to stabilize the world market. Some 120 delegates from 21 countries in the region plus observers from Argentina and the main London and New York sugar brokers are taking part in the Mexico meeting. [Text] [Kingston Domestic Service in English 1630 GMT 24 Oct 79 FL]

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ARGENTINA

PERONISM TODAY: FACTIONS, POSTURES DEFINED

Currents Within Peronism

Buenos Aires CONFIRMADO in Spanish 18 Oct 79 pp 9-10, 12-13

[Text] "There will be a place for Peronism like any other political party, if it is organized as a party with civic responsibility and if its people and ideas adapt to a system of full democracy." The president of the nation made these specifications last week just prior to his return from Tokyo. In so doing he referred to one of the structural problems of Argentina in recent decades and one of the decisive questions concerning the future Argentine institutional establishment. It should not be forgotten that in the coming weeks the military junta will make its political proposal known, in which some if not all of the main rules of the game will be set forth.

The conservatives, centrists, Christian democratic and socialist forces and the Radical Civic Union (UCR) will remain within the boundaries of legality. The various expressions of the extreme left wing are now outside the law. As a result there remain two unknowns: communism, following the Moscow line, and justicialism. Whether or not the Communist Party (PC) will be accepted will be dictated more as a matter of political definition than on the basis of its real influence on the citizenry (in all its history, the PC has only elected two national deputies). But Peronism is a different matter. To date various paths have been tried--proscription, change of name, open acceptance--without producing results. But now there is a new ingredient: the physical disappearance of Juan Domingo Peron. However, the theme persists: various sectors--Adm (Ret) Isaac Rojas, the democratic socialists, and various conservative forces--stress the need to prevent justicialism from being incorporated in the democratic system. "Peronism is the denial of a system based on freedom," Rojas asserts.

Be that as it may, there is no uncertainty about terming Peronism the decisive practical problem. From the words of President Videla one can conclude that the official decision is to accept Peronism, but only on condition that it rejects some of its characteristics. To wit: a certain functional team (the famous "verticalism") and many of its leading personalities. In this last respect, those leaders specified in the institutional

responsibility document must be included. By means of this tool, a number of individuals, beginning with Isabel Peron herself, will be disqualified.

Hard and Soft Line

In 1973, seven million voters strong endorsed the Peron-Peron formula. How many of these citizens, 30 months later, were eager for the pronouncement of the armed forces? And what is the approximate number of Peronists today? Inevitably, the answer to these questions must wait until the prohibition on the party is lifted. Still more important than this question is the determination of what internal faction will predominate.

Strictly speaking, the military government has to date only suffered two direct opposition attacks: both were promoted by justicialist sectors. The first instance was on 27 April of this year, when the 25 trade unions, given hegemony by the now-dissolved Peronist Trade Union Movement, launched a "campaign of protest." The second and more recent attack took place when various Peronist sectors, beginning with Isabel Peron and Deolindo Bittel, their highest leaders, issued very harsh statements in connection with the visit paid by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

Defining Peronism, governed by its special laws and with the habit of surprising tactics, is a difficult task. However, certain elements enable us to get close to some of the facts. The verticalists, in their various manifestations, have been the nucleus most opposed to the current process. Those who urged internal democracy in the classic style and rejected verticalism, for their part, have been generally speaking more understanding of the government. This does not mean that all of the verticalists are adamant opponents of the government, nor that the anti-verticalist sector applauds the civic-military convergence without reservation. No such thing. However the verticalists, in the majority, are resistant to dialog, while the bulk of the anti-verticalists want to achieve good relations with the government.

"Dialog Does Not Interest Us"

"I cannot say that relations with the government are of interest, because they cannot exist while Isabel is in custody. Moreover, political activity is still frozen. Therefore, while this situation continues, relations with the government can only be confrontation." Lazaro Rocca, secretary general of the Justicialist Party, explained the position of the ultra-verticalists to CONFIRMADO. "With Peron gone," Rocca went on, "Isabel heads the movement. Those who do not recognize our leader's heir in her are making a serious mistake. It is Isabel who, when she is free, will decide what Peronism will do. Meanwhile, let me make it clear that we do not reject convergence, but the people must settle this. Peron's concept took as its basis the view of the military as a part of the people, not the people as a part of the military."

Former national Deputy Juan Gabriel Labake endorses a similar line. Of Christian democratic origin, Labake is regarded as one of the inspirers of the ultra-verticalist line. In fact, he is trying to create a focus for the supporters of Isabel beginning with the former legislators who have returned to their provinces. "We know that Isabel is not General Peron," he explained to CONFIRMADO. "He was a unique individual in an exceptional position for political leadership. But if anyone represents the orthodox trend, historical continuity, and has a majority of the supporters within Peronism, it is Isabel. The decision as to whether she will occupy the place vacated by Peron lies with her and the Peronist people. It is not for the leaders to discuss this possibility." In the opinion of Labake, the release of the former president is the main goal of his movement. "But we want her to be released due to popular pressure and not as a gracious gesture by the government," he made it clear. "In our view no pact with the government is possible. It is unacceptable to support a transition government by means of which we are asked to legally endorse the loss of popular sovereignty. We want to exert pressure, by the peaceful means we have always used, for our return to popular sovereignty. We know that the armed forces are sensitive to the discontent of the people." In this connection, Labake does not discount a certain alliance with the radicals. "This will come about at the proper moment," he said, "but regrettably Balbin continues to cling to the hope of a civic-military solution." This phrase is of particular importance. In recent years, the Peronist verticalists have placed some of their hopes in the head of the UCR. Now, on the other hand, Balbin's recent statements (his criticism of Bittel, for example) seem to have served to cool relations. And on the other hand, the relationship between Isabel's supporters and Raul Alfonsin are prospering. Perhaps for this reason Alfonsin (previously labeled a "strong-arm" by the Peronists) has described justicialism as the "most clear-thinking populism in America." This does not suggest a formal agreement, but makes it possible to see the fluidity prevailing today in the relations between the two largest Argentine parties.

Perhaps the structure in which the power of Maria Estela Martinez is most nearly undisputed is the feminine branch. "We are all for Isabel," Rosaura Isla, a member of the Justicialist Party Council, explained to CONFIRMADO. In her view "no one can challenge Isabel's leadership, particularly within this branch, since this is the first time a woman has won such a high post in America."

But within the sector supporting Isabel, there are other guidelines, not so well known. Among them is the Juncal group, rallying political and trade union leaders on the second level. They are certain that their work points the way to future developments. "We believe in the need to train leadership cadres who will guarantee the relationship between Isabel and the Peronist people. For if indeed the masses support Isabel, a part of the leadership has taken the wrong path. We are working in that direction." CONFIRMADO heard these words from Pablo Flores, a leader of the Health Workers' Trade Union, who is also a member of the Commission for the Release of Isabel Peron.

In synthesis, various factions can be distinguished within the ultra-verticalist sector, their differences not yet having come to light because of the forced inertia of the political parties. Even so, the ultra-verticalists can be regarded as a minority faction within the Peronist leadership. Therefore, its members insist on specifying that, in their view, Isabel controls the greater part of the support among the Peronist masses. The factions which do not support Isabel, for their part, accuse the others of not being representative and attempting to impose Isabel in order then to surround her. The same charge was made, in its time, against Jose Lopez Rega and the Julio Gonzalez possibility.

Verticalist, But Not Too Much So

Along with the Isabel faction there is another which, if indeed it formally recognizes the leadership of the former president, admits privately that it lacks certain leadership characteristics. Why do they not make this criticism public? There are various reasons. One of the most important one apparently lies in the fact that Isabel is in custody. This sector, which could be called verticalist pure and simple, suspects that it would not be politic to attack their highest leader while she continues to be deprived of her freedom. At the same time, many fear that without Isabel, Peronism may break up into a thousand splinters. They recognize in her, then, a factor in unity. They would like, basically, for her to play a role like the sovereign of England, who reigns but does not govern.

One of these groups is that headed by Eloy Camus, former governor of San Juan and now president of the Justicialist Party Congress. He is one of the most influential provincial leaders, and one of the chief of the League of Governors, of which in fact a majority of the provincial governors have been members since 1976. This is a force with great weight in a number of provinces. Former Governors Aquiles Regazzoli (La Pampa), Mario Franco (Rio Negro), and Julio Romero (de Corrientes, still being detained), with their various backgrounds, must be included here. Casas Noblegas, of Catamarca, Julio Antun of Cordoba, and former Minister of Justice Ernesto Corvalan Sanclares can also be included on this list.

Some of the supporters, such as Jorge Camus, the son of Don Eloy and former secretary general of the Justicialist Party, are acting through the so-called Challenge Group, along with former Senator Cornejo Linares, of Salta, and metallurgical trade union leader Alberto Campos. It is known that the younger Camus maintains a hard line with regard to the government, to the point that a list drafted a few weeks ago by the ultra-verticalists includes him among its supporters.

Eloy Camus, for his part, has friends in the developmental sector, in support of which he has signed various statements. His relations with the radical sector were never cordial. In any case, he had nothing to say following the document presented by Isabel Peron to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

The Bittel Faction

Another faction which supports Isabel Peron with certain reservations is that headed by the writer from the Chaco, Deolindo Felipe Bittel. Until a month ago, he was regarded as a flexible man open to dialog with the government. His very hard-line document on the occasion of the visit paid by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights reversed his direction. Although it is probable that Bittel will return to less adamant positions, the fact is that nowadays he must be regarded as an adversary of the government.

Within the faction supporting him, there is a group made up of the friends of the former Chaco governor, including Roberto Ares (former minister of Interior) and former Senators Vicente Saadi and Alejandro Diaz Bialek. From more independent positions (they are important Conurbano leaders), Germinio Iglesias (Avellaneda) and Manuel Torres (Lomas de Zamora) have moved to similar positions. Miguel Unamuno is somewhat vexed by the pro-opposition statements by Bittel, since he still has the attitude in favor of dialog which characterized the writer until the time of his famous statement.

The new factor is the approach to Bittel of a sector called "Pro-Campos," headed by Jose Vazquez (former undersecretary of foreign relations) and Nilda Garre (the wife of Juan Manuel Abal Medina). They are working very closely with Bittel as a "center-leftist" wing.

"The civilians and the military are a single body, and therefore convergence was not needed since it always existed. Even in democratic periods the military have played a role in some ministries," Vicente Leonidas Saadi stressed to CONFIRMADO. "Bittel's statement," he added, "was good and I think that he was obliged to make it. The official reaction was unplanned, for we cannot listen only to what the government wants. Justicialism has not closed any doors, since the government has not launched any dialog with the Peronists or with anyone. Peronism will always be ready for dialog, but dialog does not mean tolerating daily insults in silence."

Within the Bittel faction, there are groups which would like to establish contact with the government sector. One of their representatives is Miguel Unamuno, who rejected the statement submitted to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights because "it seeks a break, pure and simple, with the armed forces."

However this did not prevent Unamuno from explaining to CONFIRMADO that "the document redefines the situation of the Peronist sector, since it served to develop cohesion on the domestic front and to make an opposition attitude explicit." He also added that "to date the government has shown no intention to engage in dialog with the Peronists and I believe that if the circumstances lead to the possibility of discussion, it will have to be done through the established authorities of the party."

The Horizontal Sector

The non-verticalists comprise another of the factions within Peronism, the members being leaders who in the last constitutional period held important posts within the state apparatus--Angel Robledo and Italo Luder, Tomas de Anchorena, Norberto Agrelo and Dante Loss are among those included in this faction. The program rallying the non-verticalists is characterized by a certain challenge of Isabel Peron's leadership, although a challenge without virulence. Its members want to consolidate their own internal line on the handling of party affairs. Parallel with this, they also show a readiness to carry forward dialog with the government sectors.

A statement by the Middle Generation Movement, signed by Norberto Agrelo, an intimate of Robledo and Dante Loss, and affiliated with Anchorena, among others, stressed that "after the death of Peron, deterioration in the system of leadership gained momentum, and the leadership level found direction impossible because the nature of its function required of necessity the existence of a chief and the method of direction proved ineffective," and therefore "the need for a new system of leadership and a source of its legitimacy developed."

The questioning of the "middle generation" extended to those who "claim to be supporters of Isabel. These sectors are seeking the protection of her name in order to win positions which without her support they could not achieve. In Peronism, there should be no factions for or against Isabel."

The relations with the government through the civic-military convergence is, according to what Robledo told CONFIRMADO, a matter in which "the solution is not to be found in convergence but along the lines of a national union, with the participation and solidarity of all." The Eleuterio Cardoso meat enterprise leader represents a faction which would base its hopes on the possibility of an agreement between the trade unions and the military, although without breaking off with the vertical faction of the party. With regard to Isabel, CONFIRMADO was told that "the current authorities are the legal representatives of the party, and we respect and recognize them. When the government lifts the political proscription we will see what happens."

"No to Isabel"

But it is in the anti-vertical faction that the challenge to Isabel Peron is of the greatest virulence. Perhaps in the view of this sector the fallen president represents too much of a burden upon any effort to achieve future agreements through its strategy of dialog. Raul Floreal Matera explained to CONFIRMADO that "we in the justicialist movement today aspire to real democracy, with proven and capable leaders. With Peron dead," he concluded, "justicialism remains an assemblage. What little remains of delegated authority is of a purely administrative nature and obviously lacks political representation."

A similar position is endorsed by Enrique Osella Munoz, Alberto Seru Garcia and former Governor of Buenos Aires Victorio Calabro, among others. They are emphatically oriented toward a civic-military agreement. "For 35 years now," Matera told CONFIRMADO, "we have maintained the need for a joining together of the civic-popular forces and the armed forces. When this has happened in history the country has advanced and made its mark." In Matera's view, those opposed to this alliance "will be the internal agents of hatred and vengeance and they will play a real role preparing for the advent of extremism in our fatherland."

Similarly, other spokesmen of the anti-verticalist movement--Oscar Albrieu, Ergasto Martigena, and Carlos Stefagnuolo--have just issued a document urging "the creation of a government agreed upon by the armed forces and the two majority parties, the justicialists and the radicals."

The idea of agreement--and not confrontation--is, as can be seen, that which prevails in this movement.

The Future

This complex picture will give rise to winners and losers. The justicialists may reassert themselves as the leading national force or they may lose their leadership, as happened to the radicals in the 1940s. The question today continues to be the same as five years ago. Did the death of Peron mean the doom of justicialism? It appears it will not be long before we know how many Peronists remain and--perhaps even more important--what path they are prepared to choose.

Justicialist Scenario

Buenos Aires CONFIRMADO in Spanish 18 Oct 79 p 11

[Text] The largest number of individuals and factions are concentrated in the province of Buenos Aires. The ultra-verticalist faction has Lazaro Rocca (in San Pedro), Carmelo Amerise (La Plata), Rodolfo Kelly (Bahia Blanca) and Rosaura Isla. Norberto Bagino (former intendant of San Isidro) could also be included. A similar faction would include Gen (Ret) Adel Vilas, former commander of Operation Independence, in Tucuman, who supports similar theses.

The former intendants are a powerful force in the moderate faction as well. Herminio Iglesias (Avellaneda) and Anibal Quintimil (Lanus) are acting together with Manuel Torres, of Lomas de Zamora. One should not forget Federico Russo, who has influence in the populous La Matanza zone, a justicialist stronghold.

Manuel de Anchorena also is in touch with Iglesias and Torres. A number of Peronist leaders meet frequently at his residence in General Belgrano. His right-hand man--Dante Loss--has been with him since the days of the Federal Movement in 1970. Together with Anchorena, Cesar Albistur Villegas and Juan Toia should be included.

Within the anti-verticalist faction, the figure of Victorio Calabro stands out, with special support in La Plata trade union circles, such as that headed by Antonio Valcedo. Another faction, also favoring dialog, is led by Julio Del Guercio, the former intendant of Quilmes, who is very close to the positions held by Raul Floreal Matera.

In the federal capital, two levels merge. On the one hand, this is the place of residence for leaders of national importance, but one should not forget the local leaders who can mobilize a number of votes in internal elections. The ultra-vertical faction seems weak.

In Corrientes, former governor Julio Romero remains all-powerful. A new little ultra-verticalist group (Celso Romero) and the non-verticalist Ruperto Farisano group complete the picture.

In the Chaco, naturally, Deolindo Felipe Bittel prevails. The other factions are active but do not challenge his line.

Entre Rios seemingly reveals a certain preeminence for the moderate verticalist faction (Tomas Cresto, former governor) and the non-verticalist faction, also lukewarm, led by Iriarte and D'Agostino. The ultra-verticalists include the president of the Parana Lawyers' Association, Jorge Salomon.

There is little activity in Formosa. Former Governor Atenor Gauna and the last interventor (Gorleri) seem to be functioning with Bittel.

La Pampa is led, we are assured, by Aquiles Regazzoli, a friend of Eloy Camus who was governor.

La Rioja seems to be an ultra-verticalist province. A short time ago, almost all of its leaders signed a document to this effect. In the absence of former governor Carlos Menem, Raul Zalazar Gomez and former Deputy Roque Vergara seem to head the pursuit of his line.

Mendoza, as has almost always been the case, reveals a verticalist faction (Carlos Evans, Ernesto Corvalan Nanclares) opposite a strong anti-verticalist line (Alberto Seru Garcia). Fifteen years ago, the Peronists went into the general elections with different slates. Corvalan Nanclares was the verticalist candidate, and Seru Garcia the anti-verticalist candidate.

Miguel Alterach, former governor of Misiones, says he favors dialog, but his thinking joins with that of Bittel. There is not too much party movement in the province.

In Neuquen, Buenaventura Vai's vertical faction seems powerless against the very strong presence of Elias and Felipe Sapag, traditionally opposed to verticalism.

Mario Franco, former governor of Rio Negro, seems to support a line midway between Camus and Bittel, but a strong anti-verticalist opposition has just emerged in the form of a document signed by Oscar Albrieu, Justino Gonzalez and others.

Armando Caro and Cornejo Linares, former senators for Salta, are keeping this district in verticalist hands.

The party apparatus (and the votes) in San Juan remain in the hands of Eloy Camus. His influence extends to San Luis, where the pure pro-Isabel faction claims Orlando Britos as its own. In Santa Cruz as well the ultra-verticalists have great influence thanks to Juan Carlos Beni, although Bittel has the support of one of the party council members: trade unionist Edgardo Muguia.

Santa Fe, for its part, is a weak spot for the pro-Isabel faction, with only the support of Llamili Barbora de Nassif (former second vice president of the Senate), Jose Saleme and other second-level leaders. The anti-verticalist faction enjoys considerable sway, with Enrique Osella Munoz, Luis Rubeo, and Afrio Pennisi, among others. Here we must include important leaders who have publicly praised Adm Emilio Massera, such as Luis Sobrino Aranda (now a militant Massera supporter) and Luis Bonino (former candidate for vice governor, in 1973, for the dissident Peronist faction), who has just termed the former naval officer "a great hope for the country."

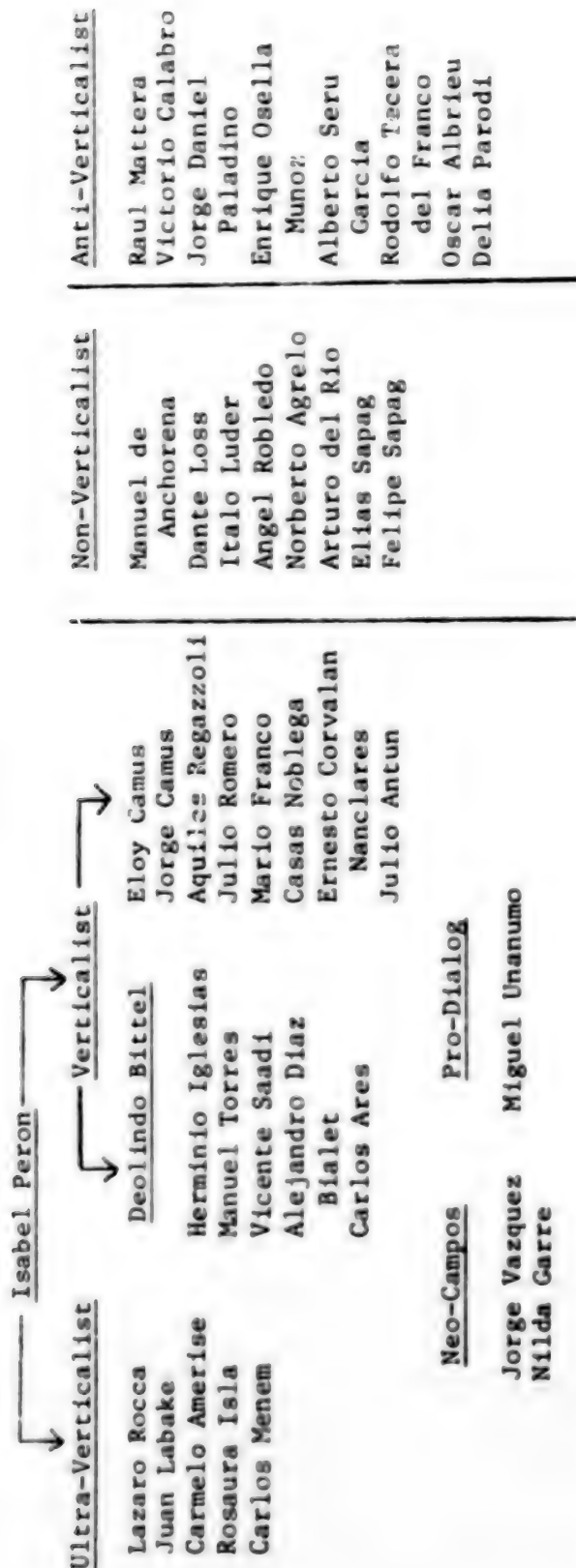
In Santiago del Estero, Carlos Juarez was the inspirer of the apparatus which continues, through Julio Salvatierra and others, to control the party.

In Tucuman, finally, former Governor Amado Juri has defined an opposition position, although no one could call him a supporter of Isabel, at least thus far. The ultra-verticalist faction, for its part, includes former President of the Chamber of Deputies Nicasio Sanchez Toranzo, and the former intendant of Tucuman, Carlos Maria Torres.

There seems to be total political paralysis in the province of Chubut.

And that is the picture of the Peronist situation at the present juncture. The future may--and certainly will--bring unpredictable shifts. This outline does not include trade union leaders, with the exception of those with definite and consistent participation in party political activity, since traditionally the trade union movement resolves its internal battles separately.

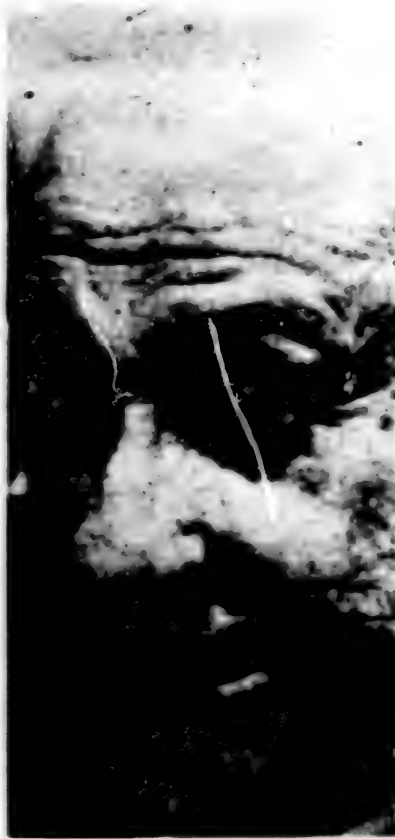
FACTIONS



Note: The names listed for each faction do not necessarily represent identical views. The chart seeks to reflect the situation at the present juncture, rather than the different past positions of the leadership.



Rocca:



Eloy Camus:



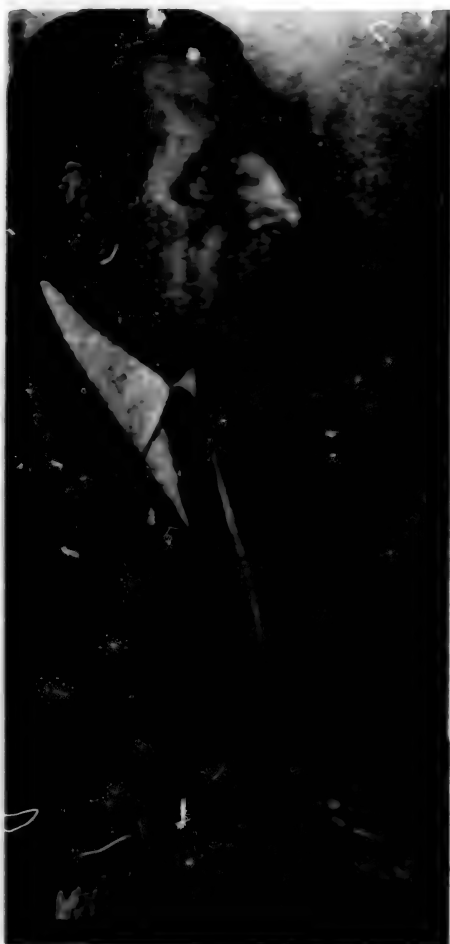
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ARGENTINA

BRIEFS

GRAPHICS WORKER DISAPPEARS--Buenos Aires, 3 Nov (AFP)--The Buenos Aires HERALD, an English-language newspaper, charged today that a worker from its graphics department has been missing for more than 48 hours. The paper adds that the man "has not been seen in the places he is usually found." The victim has been identified as 21-year-old Victor Ruben Porter. He lives in the populous Buenos Aires neighborhood of Barracas and is a Buenos Aires HERALD employee. Porter was last seen on Thursday driving a car, but nothing has been heard of him since then, reported the HERALD. His father yesterday submitted a habeas corpus appeal to Judge Ramon Montoya. In it, he requests any possible reason for the arrest of the young man. (The Argentine Federal Police Department) has reported that the proper report was submitted at police precinct No 22. It added that the general public was requested to immediately report any information. The Buenos Aires HERALD has been characterized in the last few years by its constant denunciations--more so than other local press organization--of missing persons in Argentina. In today's edition, the HERALD publishes an editorial stating that from 1975 to 1979 there were between 6,000 and 10,000 cases of missing persons in Argentina. [Text] [PY031653 Paris AFP in Spanish 1318 GMT 3 Nov 79 PY]

FRENCH DELEGATION ENDS VISIT--Buenos Aires, 19 Oct (TELAM)--The delegation of European businessmen headed by Oliver Giscard d'Estaing, brother of the French president, left today for Rio de Janeiro. The delegation had made contact in our country with representatives of the economic and business sectors with the objective of promoting cooperation and investment projects through mixed entities. [Excerpt] [PY201456 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1425 GMT 19 Oct 79 PY]

NEW GREEK AMBASSADOR--Basilio Vitsaxis, new Greek ambassador to Argentina, this morning presented his credentials to Gen Rafael Videla in a ceremony held at the president's office. [PY310131 Buenos Aires Domestic Service in Spanish 2000 GMT 30 Oct 79 PY]

NEW AMBASSADOR TO KENYA--The new Argentine ambassador to Kenya, (Juan Carlos Arria), will visit President Jorge Rafael Videla today to say goodbye before leaving for his new post in the African nation. [PY310131 Buenos Aires Domestic Service in Spanish 1030 GMT 25 Oct 79 PY]

NEW COLOMBIAN AMBASSADOR--Buenos Aires, 23 Oct (TELAM)--Francisco Pizano de Brigard, the new Colombian ambassador to Argentina, today presented his credentials to President Jorge Rafael Videla at Government House. [PY310131 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1440 GMT 23 Oct 79 PY]

SPANISH GENERAL ENDS VISIT--Buenos Aires, 17 Oct (NA)--Lt Gen Emilio Alfaro Arregui, chief of staff of the Spanish Air Force, today ended his 7-day official visit to Argentina. Gen Alfaro Arregui was seen off at the metropolitan airport by Brig Gen Omar Graffigna, who had invited him, and by Enrique Perez y Hernandez, Spanish ambassador to Argentina. [PY310131 Buenos Aires in Spanish 1646 GMT 17 Oct 79 PY]

SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE DELEGATION--A South African trade delegation comprised of 14 businessmen is visiting Argentina. The delegation, which will remain in the country until 8 November, has come to promote trade between South Africa and Argentina. Their trip was sponsored by the South Africa-South American Chamber for Economic Relations. [PY310131 Buenos Aires Domestic Service in Spanish 1600 GMT 25 Oct 79 PY]

LAOTIAN REFUGEES ARRIVE--Mendoza, 24 Oct (TELAM)--Mendoza Social Welfare Minister Carlos Rodrigo Alves Carneiro today met 13 Laotian families who will settle in this province. This group is part of 230 families who will settle here. [PY310131 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 0305 GMT 25 Oct 79 PY]

PRESIDENT OF RURAL CONFEDERATION--Buenos Aires, 18 Oct (TELAM)--Jorge Aguado was elected the new president of the Argentine Rural Confederations (CRA) during a meeting held by the presidents of all the rural confederations belonging to the CRA. [PY310131 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 2120 GMT 18 Oct 79 PY]

CSO: 3010

CHILE

GROUP OF 24 SETS FORTH PRINCIPLES FOR NEW CONSTITUTION

Santiago HOY in Spanish 17 Oct 79 pp 33-40

[Text] The Constitutional Studies Group -- also known as the Group of 24 -- requested permission to release a public statement giving the conclusions of the work done by university professors, professionals, workers, and representatives of various national sectors in order to develop an alternative draft for the new state constitution. The ministry of the interior refused this permission, arguing that this would be a violation of the political recess. The Group of 24 insisted that they were only asking that the results of their work be given enough publicity so that the debate on the future institutional system could be broad, pluralist, and known to all Chileans. As an alternative, the group submitted the report of its deliberations, and a number of newspapers have published necessarily incomplete versions of the document. To fill in this gap, and so that there can be widespread knowledge of these proposals, HOY is now giving the full text of the report of the Group of 24.

It has been a year since, in response to a public appeal, 24 of us formed working groups -- composed of Chileans of a variety of ideological backgrounds -- to seek bases for agreement on the future institutional system. We are now submitting for the knowledge and consideration of our fellow citizens the fundamental ideas which, in our judgment, should inspire Chile's constitutional system.

In presenting to the nation a synthesis of the agreements reached in the course of our work, we want to emphasize that these ideas are the result of the cooperation of many of our fellow citizens of good will, and they respond to the longing to establish a truly democratic system based on the greatest consensus possible among all Chileans.

We have not worked shut up in an ivory tower, on the margins of reality, or removed from the feelings of our fellow citizens. We are conscious of the profound crisis that has rocked Chile in recent years, of which the institutional collapse and decay that we are witnessing are the dramatic manifestations, and so we started from an analysis of the nature and causes of this crisis, an analysis made by men and women from all sections of our national life.

Nor did we allow ourselves to be carried away by any spirit of one-sided ideologism. Rather, we worked to include in our study, along with the most modern concepts of the social sciences, visions coming from many ideologies.

Convinced that a political system, if it is to be legitimate and lasting, has to be the expression of the "common sense of the people," that is, of the essential ideas generally shared by the national community, we tried to seek the solutions most widely acceptable to the Chilean people.

As we do not claim to take on ourselves any popular representation which has been given to no one, we are making public our proposals as simple propositions offered to the people of Chile, who alone have the sovereign power to decide these issues.

Here in a short summary are the fundamental ideas, the ideas on which we reached full and unanimous agreement

I We agree that the political constitution should establish a truly democratic system in Chile, and we agree on what this means.

We think that only democracy, democracy without any restrictive labels on it, is compatible with the historic tradition of Chile and with the freedom and justice-loving spirit characterizing the immense majority of our people.

By democracy we mean that form of sociopolitical organization founded on the right of the people to govern themselves by themselves and which ensures an effective concern for and protection of human rights.

No one but the people has the right to decide the destiny of our people, to define our national objectives, or to set limits or restrictions on the people's will.

Democracy does not exist if the system does not recognize that the majority has the right to govern and if minorities are not guaranteed respect for their rights, including the right to work to become a majority.

Nor can democracy exist when the civil, political, economic, and social rights of human beings are ignored or damaged by citing state reasons or other considerations.

We think that for democracy to exist, the following requisites, at least, are indispensable:

- 1) A state of law, in which the law, the expression of the sovereign will of the people, is truly obligatory for both the governed and for those who govern. This is the only way to establish a rational order and to exclude arbitrariness in the exercise of power.
- 2) Separation of powers. The distribution of state functions in distinct and independent bodies is the best guarantee of liberty against any dictatorial or totalitarian attempts.
- 3) Periodic renewal of government officials by popular elections through universal, free, secret, equal, and informed suffrage. The law should regulate the voting procedure to guarantee its correctness and to obtain a suitable proportionality in the formation of elected bodies by representing all political groups. The regularity of elections and their results should be judged by an independent tribunal.
- 4) Active and organized participation of the people in the political, social, economic, and cultural life of the nation. Democracy is the job of everyone, without exception, within the broadest form of pluralism.

There can be no democracy without political parties. The mediating function that they exercise in the formation of the collective will and in the search for the common good is irreplaceable in the life of a modern state.

Democratic activity is also manifested by a network of intermediate organizations that articulate the relations of the state with civil society, by reducing the distance from the governors to the governed. These organizations, which must be autonomous and must have a real ability to influence collective decisions, express the various economic and social interests and are needed to institutionalize the responsible participation of the people.

- 5) Responsibility of government officials and the public nature of their actions. Government officials are leaders responsible to the people and subject to their control; their activity is temporary and public and their authority must be exercised

within the framework of the constitution, always with respect for human rights and the social organizations of the people.

We think that democracy also has an economic and social meaning. Based on the recognition of the essential equality of all, no matter what their differences, it is the essence of democracy to seek the achievement of economic and social justice, for the economic and social order should function for the benefit of all. Poverty, unemployment, and lack of access to education, culture, health, housing, justice, and to social security are all grave violations of fundamental human rights and they make up an anti-democratic reality.

Finally, we agree that democracy supposes, on the part of all members of the political community, loyal respect for the principles and rules of democratic coexistence. It requires that the citizens exercise their rights and their duties in a rational and tolerant manner; it excludes the use of violence as a method of political action, and it demands penal sanctions for behavior that violates those rules and principles.

If we agree that the people alone hold constitutional power, and only the people can exercise this power upon the reestablishment of their liberty.

History proves that the legitimacy and effectiveness of a political constitution depend on the degree of agreement or conscious and voluntary support that such a constitution arouses within the national community. Constitutions imposed by regimes relying on force, even when they are approved by plebiscite, do not last any longer than the governments that impose them.

Consequently, we think that the process of drafting a new constitution should be oriented essentially to reaching the greatest possible agreement or national consensus, which requires the following conditions being met:

- a) The constitution should be developed under a system giving full respect for public rights and liberties;
- b) A Constituent Assembly, fully representative of all sectors and national trends, should study the proposal in a public debate;
- c) The people should be asked to give their opinion freely and in an informed manner on the principal alternatives that arise from this study; and

d) Both for the election of the Constituent Assembly by universal suffrage, and for the holding of the plebiscite in which the people will decide, the electorate should be established beforehand by opening the register of citizens and also by regulating in advance the voting procedures in order to guarantee the freedom and secrecy of the procedure and the correctness of the ballots, which are essential for the validity of the elections.

III We agree that Chile does not need a constitution, but rather it needs to improve, by some reforms, the constitutional system in effect in 1973.

Chile is not a country starting from zero in the matter of a constitution. On the contrary, the stability and flexibility of its institutions are the foundations for the exceptional political stability characteristic of our history; this has given us prestige in the eyes of many nations and has been a reason for patriotic pride. It is ridiculous to scorn the heritage of a constitutional tradition of over 150 years. The Constitution of 1925, in effect with modifications until 11 September 1973, was born as a reform of the so-called "Portaliana" Constitution of 1833, which in its turn was a reform of the 1828 constitution.

Furthermore, we reject the thesis that attributes our nation's political crisis to a supposed "breakdown" of the democratic institutions prevailing under our constitutional system. We think that this crisis had political, social, economic, and ideological causes that made it impossible to establish a truly majority-backed social plan in the national community. The lack of such majority support accentuated the conflict between interest groups and opposing ideas, and made more apparent some preceptive weaknesses of the constitution in effect, which should now be corrected.

We think that these weaknesses affected the representative nature of state organizations; they did not facilitate the formation of stable government majorities; they supported a system of a strong executive without an effective government responsibility; and they did not establish a rapid system for solving legal and political conflicts. While they did permit a real voting participation, the intermediate organizations, such as political parties, did not include mechanisms that gave any real participation in decision-making to social forces, and the citizens lacked sufficient means to protect themselves from arbitrary government and administration actions.

Consequently, this is not a matter of writing an entirely new constitution, but rather of reforming the Constitution of 1925 to correct these weaknesses and to adapt it to the new historic circumstances of Chile today and which Chile will have to face in the future.

IV We agree that, within the presidential tradition of Chilean democracy, rules should be established to facilitate the formation of stable government majorities.

Therefore, it seems essential to us to substitute for the law on the election of the president, which entrusts it to the full congress when no candidate obtains over half of the votes cast, a law requiring in this event a second popular election, no more than 30 days later, restricted to those candidates who in the first round obtained the two highest majorities. In this way, any president of the republic will assume office with the direct support of an absolute majority of his fellow citizens.

In addition to this reform, in order to achieve the goal of facilitating the formation of stable government majorities, we suggest two alternatives for the system of government, alternatives which are appropriate to Chile's historic traditions and to our social reality. Their possibility of application will depend on the conditions in which the transition from the dictatorship to democracy takes place.

The first of these alternatives makes the following changes in the presidential system as established in the Constitution of 1925:

a) It provides for the simultaneous election of the president, deputies, and senators, and sets the term for all these offices at 5 years, eliminating special elections and providing that both the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies will run for election every 5 years, in their entirety.

b) It creates the office of vice president of the republic; the vice president would run on a joint slate with the president, and would act as his substitute in case of temporary or permanent impediment, and would also serve as president of the Senate. Both the president and the vice president could not be candidates for president or vice president in the period following their term of office.

c) It replaces the rule that requires two-thirds of both chambers for the congress to override a presidential veto of

a bill. In such a case it requires a majority of the deputies and senators in office.

d) It increases the investigating powers of the Chamber of Deputies, which will not be restricted only to government acts, but will also cover those of the administration; it will provide that the president or the ministers will be obliged to respond to resolutions of the chamber; attendance of ministers at sessions in which the chamber is exercising its investigating powers will be compulsory, and the chamber will be empowered to appoint investigating committees.

e) It establishes a plebiscite for all constitutional reforms and for resolving disagreements between the president and the national congress on bills of great importance.

The second alternative establishes a semi-presidential government system, dividing the executive functions between the president of the republic, as head of state, and the head of the cabinet, as head of government. The president of the republic would handle matters of political authority, would represent the state and promote national integration, and the head of the cabinet would handle day-to-day political duties.

The president would remain in office 7 years and could not be reelected; his election would not coincide with that of deputies and senators.

In the president's position as chief political leader, he would be empowered to appoint the head of the cabinet, with the agreement of the Chamber of Deputies; to remove him; to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies in cases indicated later; to call a plebiscite or a referendum and to initiate constitutional reforms; and to request the declaration or extension of a state of emergency at the request or with the approval of the head of the cabinet.

As the representative of the continuity and permanence of the state and of national integration, he would be empowered to appoint members of the Supreme Court proposed by the Council of Justice; to appoint the Comptroller General of the Republic and ambassadors, with the approval of the Senate; to exercise the functions that the constitution and laws entrust to him with regard to the armed forces and the forces of order; to declare a military callup in case of foreign aggression, in conjunction with the National Security Council; to ensure that the public administration functions well, that civil service careers are respected, and that the rights and duties of government employees

are observed; to grant special amnesties; to represent the nation in foreign affairs, and to sign international treaties; to appoint regional superintendents, either nominated or approved by the head of the cabinet; and to exercise the other functions which the constitution and the laws may entrust to him.

The head of the cabinet, acting in his capacity as the person responsible for day-to-day policy, would have the following duties: to appoint state ministers composing the ministry, to initiate legislation and constitutional reforms and comment on bills passed by the national congress; to exercise regulatory jurisdiction; to negotiate international treaties and introduce them to the chamber for ratification; to appoint top-level officials of government agencies and other appointees as determined by law, and to remove them; to appoint provincial governors, at the nomination of the regional superintendents; to remove regional superintendents and provincial governors; to maintain public order and domestic peace; to propose the declaration of a state of emergency because of natural disaster or public calamity (the proposal would be made to the president and the Chamber of Deputies); to approve and carry out government policies and to exercise other functions which the constitution and the laws may entrust to him.

Both the president and the head of the cabinet would be subject to penal and civil liability. The head of the cabinet would also have political liability, and therefore he could be removed by the president at his own initiative or by a vote of constructive censure passed by the Chamber of Deputies.

For passage, the vote of constructive censure would require an absolute majority of the members in office of the Chamber of Deputies, and would have to contain a government program and the name of a person to be nominated for the new head of the cabinet. In this case, the president of the republic could appoint the person proposed or dissolve the Chamber and call for a new election. Until the election was held, the president would hold all the executive powers, for the term of 120 days, with the Senate exercising emergency legislative powers.

If the head of the cabinet is removed at the initiative of the president, the president must propose a new head of the cabinet to the Chamber. If the Chamber does not agree, the president would then dissolve it, calling elections within 60 days. In this case the prior cabinet would become the outgoing cabinet, and the emergency legislative powers would be exercised by the Senate.

When the new Chamber of Deputies was elected, it would appoint the head of the cabinet and the Chamber would ratify, modify, or annul the emergency legislation, within the period of 60 days after the new Chamber took office.

The new Chamber would last for the rest of the parliamentary period. The term of deputies and senators would be 4 years and both the Senate and the Chamber would then all stand for reelection. There would be no by-elections of parliamentarians.

V We agree that the parliament should continue to be fully formed by popular election, should take precedence in the exercise of the legislative function, and should have effective control or investigatory powers.

While some of us do support a unicameral parliament, the majority of us prefer to maintain the bicameral system, consisting of the Chamber and the Senate, whose experience throughout history we consider positive.

Despite this difference, all of us think that the chamber or chambers should be formed fully by universal suffrage, as the chambers are the organs representing the people's will in the supreme leadership of the state, and especially in the exercise of the legislative function, and that the chambers should have effective powers of political control and control of the activities of the government and administration.

Concerning the representative nature of the parliament, the Chamber of Deputies should have 150 members, elected by voting districts consisting of provinces, portions of provinces, or groups of provinces, each of which would elect a minimum of two up to a maximum of six deputies, based on the population as determined by the most recent census. We think that an independent organization, such as the Election Tribunal, should periodically review the census of the population in order to determine from it the number of deputies to be chosen from each voting district. As to the Senate, some of us think that it should consist of 50 senators all elected by a single national electoral college; but the majority of us prefer that they be elected by voting districts formed of regions or groups of regions, at the rate of five from each district.

We think that the voting procedures should allow a real representation of the diverse groups present in Chilean society, because the ability of political institutions to represent the social body is a condition needed to achieve an effective

democratic majority agreement. Therefore, we reject the system of multiple uninominal bodies and majority electoral systems, which distort the representative nature of the legislative bodies, and we support the proportional system as the one that best promotes the suitable representation of all sectors.

Concerning the functions of each chamber, we believe that the Chamber of Deputies should be the political chamber and all bills should first be dealt with in that chamber. The Senate should only be a revising chamber in the legislative process and should also have some further administrative functions (approval of appointments and other executive acts), judicial functions (issuing of constitutional impeachments), and advisory functions (giving opinions on international affairs and other matters on which the president of the republic may consult it).

Concerning the legislative process, we believe that the initiative may be taken by the president or the head of the cabinet, by members of the Chamber, by the Economic and Social Council, and by the National Council of Justice; furthermore, there should be a popular initiative process through which bills sponsored by 50,000 citizens can be introduced. In matters of taxation, remuneration, budgetary matters, international affairs, or those related to external sovereignty and those involving clemency procedures, here the initiative should be reserved for the head of the government.

The legislative process now stated in the constitution should be simplified, giving greater responsibility to joint committees in case of disagreements between the two chambers, and when a compromise can not be reached, the will of the Chamber of Deputies should prevail, based on the majority vote of its members in office.

Serious disagreements between the executive and the congress on bills of special importance should be resolved by plebiscite. Any constitutional reform should always be ratified by plebiscite.

VI We agree that the political parties are essential tools in the life of a democracy and especially in the generation of the executive and legislative powers.

We think it is the function of the political parties to represent the citizens in the political organs of the state and to contribute to the formation of the democratic will, both in the government and in the opposition.

We believe that a constitutional statute on the political parties should establish the right of the citizens to form such parties; should establish the requirements for their formation; should recognize them as legal entities under public law which are entitled to take part in the generation of political organs of the state by presenting candidates for president of the republic, for senators and deputies -- without detriment to the possibility of independent candidacies; should ensure their freedom to define and modify their statements of principles, statutes, programs, and agreements on specific policies within the essential principles of the democratic system; should recognize that they have the power to use the forms of internal organization that they prefer, always with the condition that these forms must be democratic and must guarantee an effective representation; should assert their freedom to maintain offices, to disseminate their ideas, to issue publicity and have access to the mass communications media; should entitle them to state financing on the basis of the principle of proportionality in relation to the number of votes obtained in the last general election; should establish the public nature and control of their financial management and should specify penalties to which they may be liable when their actions are punishable by law.

We think that as an essential condition for acquiring legal status, any party should list in its statement of principles its explicit support for human rights as stipulated in the United Nations resolutions and its pledge to promote the achievement of these rights, its acceptance of the principle of the generation of authority by the popular will and its periodic renewal by the same means; its acceptance of the decisions of the majority and the protection of minority rights; its respect for political and ideological pluralism and its rejection of armed violence as a method of political action contrary to democratic principles.

Consequently, we believe that the violation of these democratic principles should be severely penalized, by invoking the penal liability of individuals who commit these violations and of the party itself when such violations are attributable to the party. In this case the penalty may go as far as revocation of the legal status of the party by the tribunal that the constitution provides.

VII We agree on the need to establish institutional channels for the participation of organizations representing economic and social interests.

We maintain that the Chilean community should have essential social objectives: the satisfaction of basic human needs of all persons, on terms of equality, for food, health, housing, education, security, and recreation. To guarantee that these objectives are attained, individual or organized participation of members of society from all areas is needed. Social democracy requires both the basic equality of all persons and their active inclusion in social life.

Consequently, we maintain that the democratic system requires the organized participation of the people in the various aspects of national life.

This demands full recognition of the people's rights to form social organizations to defend and promote their mutual interests, whether territorial or functional (neighborhood associations, maternal groups, youth organizations, workers' labor unions, business associations, cooperatives, professional associations, students' centers, etc.).

These organizations should enjoy legal status from the sole fact of their formation; they should have the autonomy to make their decisions freely in areas of concern to them; they should be subject to legal statutes that regulate their powers and guarantee their representative nature--by establishing democratic leadership and control structures and formats--and they should have the ability to form federations and confederations.

We attribute special importance to the right of workers to form labor unions based on the nature of their work or within their own companies. The labor unions should be legal entities through which the workers can participate in solving their problems; they should have sufficient independence and liberty to carry out the functions that are theirs by law, to generate their own management structures democratically and to form federations and confederations.

Similarly, we believe it necessary to establish an effective participation by community organizations in planning and in giving attention to social needs such as health, education, housing, security, and recreation. For this purpose, the public organizations responsible for these tasks and for satisfying these needs should include members, both nationally and regionally, in a form to be determined by law, who represent community organizations interested in their activities.

Social organizations of a territorial nature should have a preponderant participation in local or community administration.

There should be a Regional Development Council in each region of the country. The interests of the region should be represented on this council, and it should be empowered to take action in approving regional development plans, budgets, and policies.

We propose the creation of a National Economic, Social, and Cultural Council as a forum for consultation, debate, discussion and planning, and evaluation, operating on a national level, to be composed of representatives of union, business, scientific, professional, artistic organizations, etc., in a form to be determined by the constitution and the laws.

The Economic, Social, and Cultural Council should be an advisory body which the president or head of the cabinet and the national congress should be obliged to consult on matters stipulated by the constitution, such as the budget, the national development plan, if there is one, tax changes, remuneration policies, union rights, social security, and other similar issues. It should be able to propose legislation and to draw up public reports on its own initiative on matters and on occasions it deems appropriate.

VIII We agree on the fundamental bases of the democratic economic and social order which the constitution should establish, defining applicable models for political decision-making by the majorities.

We think that a true democracy requires an economic, social, and cultural order that works for the benefit of all, by placing the common good over individual interests.

The constitutional classifications on economic and social matters should be sufficiently broad and flexible to make the application of various economic schemas possible within the framework of an institutional system of a democratic nature in which it is normal for there to be shifts in the political authorities. This does not mean, however, an absolute systemic neutrality, that would leave room open for anything at all.

We think that within the scope of an essentially democratic economy, the action of the state and of the private sector may be combined in levels and various modalities in accordance with political decisions supported by the majority of the people.

Within these general criteria, we agree that the political constitution should lay the following fundamental bases for the economic and social order:

1. Among the essential objectives are the full satisfaction of the basic needs of all Chileans, tending toward a greater level of well-being and a more just distribution of wealth and income, toward obtaining a real and significant autonomy or independence in economic matters, toward stimulating the nation's scientific and technological development, toward improving the quality of life and preserving the environment.

2. We propose an economic organization that encourages the full development of individual and social initiative and creativity; therefore, it is understood that the effective operation of the market is an important tool for allocating resources, and that economic and social planning is a tool for forecasting and for the general orientation and guidance of the economy, for planning and cooperation between various sectors of society, for economic policy, and for allocation of resources. The combination and reconciliation of these mechanisms is always up to the decision-making organizations determined by the political system within the framework of constitutional and legal institutions.

In its application to state economic activity, planning will preferably be compulsory, while it will preferably be optional for private economic activity. The greater responsibility for planning will be up to the National Planning Council, which will have the functions and composition to be determined by law, but without infringing upon the powers of the president.

The state may make use of economic and social planning to handle collective needs, to balance and harmonize regional progress, to accelerate economic development and the growth of the national product, and to promote a better distribution of wealth and income.

Economic democracy implies the active participation of the people, and in particular of the workers, through appropriate mechanisms, in the processes of planning and the formulation and evaluation of the national development strategy.

3. It is recognized that the state has an active role as the promoter of national development. Its functions in economic and social matters will be determined in accordance with the will of the majority of the people, within the limits set in the constitution and in the form and conditions determined by law.

4. It is necessary to avoid any excessive concentration of economic power that may constitute a threat to the effective operation of democratic liberties. This concentration will be

avoided in ways provided by law. The legal standards will take into account their effects on the principal economic variables, on access to jobs and on the operation of the democratic political system.

5. In relation to business ownership and management, the principle of economic pluralism is to be established. There will be room for the coexistence, in terms of true equality, of a wide variety of forms of business management and ownership, such as: private, public, joint, cooperative, managed by the workers, or any other form of ownership and management.

The constitution should provide for the full development of the right of association in economic matters. Consequently, the free initiative and creativity of various forms of social organization of work will be protected, both institutionally and financially.

6. It is the duty of the state to correct any distortions that may occur as a consequence of differences in power, wealth, income, education, and other factors that result in a lack of equality that does not belong in a democratic system. Therefore, the regulations and actions taken to stimulate and support for the purposes of such corrections are considered to complement the general principle of equality before the law.

7. It is the duty of the state to remove obstacles in the economic and social order that, by de facto restricting the liberty and equality of the citizens, prevent the full development of human beings and the effective participation of all in the political, economic, and social life of the nation.

8. The constitution should maintain the guarantee to the right to property ownership in various forms as recognized by Article 10 No 10 of the Constitution of 1925 in its text in effect on 11 September 1973, in any event ensuring its social function, including the corresponding rights and obligations, and the regulations on exceptions in ownership of natural resources, expropriations, nationalizations, and defense of small property, with the following modifications concerning expropriation:

a) When the compensation is to be paid on an installment basis, this period will not exceed 15 years and the cash payment will not be less than 20 percent.

b) Before taking material possession of the expropriated property, the share in cash set provisionally must be paid.

c) The obligation to pay compensation can only be extinguished by payment and by compensation.

d) The regulations governing the setting and payment of compensation will bear equally on rural and urban property.

e) To the cases in which payment is required prior to complete compensation, there should be added small industries and artisan industries and small businesses.

f) While maintaining the distinction between expropriation and nationalization, it should be established that any nationalization, except for Gran Minería, will be subject to the same standards and regulations as expropriation.

Concerning contract laws, there are among us some who think that the law making compensation optional should be changed and it should be made compulsory.

9. In accordance with the United Nations resolutions and the Charter on the Rights and Duties of States, we proclaim the right of peoples and nations to permanent sovereignty over their wealth and natural resources.

10. Concerning the state's economic and financial activity, it is suggested that the following principal modifications be introduced in the constitutional system in effect on 11 September 1973:

a) The public sector's budget law should include both the treasury and the decentralized institutions, as provided by the Organic Budget Law. Only excluded will be those state enterprises which the law defines as such.

b) The state may exercise the functions of regulation, development, and control of the economy in the ways determined by law. In particular, the law will establish the ways in which state enterprises may be created, may acquire assets, or in which state capital may be associated with private, national or foreign firms, of any type, in order to form mixed enterprises. The law will also stipulate the form and terms governing the transfer of public assets, the dissolution of state enterprises, or the total or partial transfer of its property. State enterprises may only be acquired or transferred in accordance with the provisions of the law.

c) The law may set overall limits for the duration and terms for the various forms of contracting debt, either in foreign currency or in national currency.

d) The president of the republic should present his government program to the Chamber of Deputies, including the most important objectives and policies in economic and social matters, during the first year of his term in office. In the case of a semi-presidential system, this presentation will be made by the head of the cabinet at the time when the approval for his appointment is being requested from the Chamber.

In the following years, such documents will list the changes in policy and will evaluate the results achieved. In economic and social matters, these documents should at least make explicit reference to economic growth, inflation, employment, distribution of income, investment, and the balance of payments.

These presentations will be made to the Chamber of Deputies, which will note the government proposals. Only those proposals that the executive formulates explicitly as legislative bills will require legal approval.

e) In the drafting and parliamentary discussion of bills of an economic nature, there may arise occasions for consulting the Economic, Social, and Cultural Council, organizations representing sectors either affected or interested, and public or private bodies technically competent in these matters. The reports of these organizations will be made public. Their opinions and recommendations will not be binding on the public authorities.

f) The congress, the Economic, Social, and Cultural Council, and the Regional Development Councils will be entitled to full access to information such as data, facts, and reports on economic and social matters which the state has, with the exception of that information which by its nature is confidential. The heads of state enterprises will be responsible for compliance with this provision. It will be up to the courts to resolve conflicts or problems of interpretation that may arise in relation to this.

g) The law will establish suitable mechanisms to ensure the efficiency of public agencies and enterprises and the responsibility of those persons entrusted with their management.

IX We agree that the constitution should include as part of its internal laws the guarantee of all rights and liberties recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in additional agreements signed by Chile.

We think that full and unrestricted respect for human rights is the very essence of democracy; therefore, the constitutional

system should not only list these rights, but it should also establish effective mechanisms for protecting these rights in reality.

While not wishing to preclude the possibility of improving and adding to the listing of rights, liberties, and equalities that the political constitution in effect on 11 September 1973 ensured to all residents of the republic, we deem it appropriate to introduce in the constitutional text a provision of a general nature stating that the principles and regulations contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in the International Pact on Civil and Political Rights, and in the International Pact on Economic and Social Rights, which have all been ratified by Chile, and also contained in any other international agreement which Chile may sign in the future, will be considered an integral part of the national legal order.

Concerning the jurisdictional procedures to shield or protect persons from any violation, abuse, damage, or threat to their rights, we believe that such procedures should be extended to all rights, and that it is necessary to strengthen in particular the provisions of habeas corpus which guarantees personal liberty.

We urge that the constitution establish the institution of Defender of Human Rights, which would be responsible for ensuring that these rights are fully respected. This would be a high-level official appointed by the national congress and responsible to the congress, whose specific duties would be stipulated in a special law.

We believe that an express constitutional text should stipulate that when the constitution subjects the exercise of any of the rights that it guarantees to legal regulation, the law may not contract, limit, suspend, or restrict these rights in any way.

X We agree that the constitution should limit states of emergency.

We think that the proliferation of exceptional states which, because of a variety of circumstances, suspend, limit, or restrict the exercise of some rights and liberties guaranteed by the constitution and which give the government discretionary powers, contradicts the essence of democracy and weakens the state of law.

Consequently, we believe that the possibility of such states, the reasons or situations which justify them, the procedures for establishing them, the special powers they confer, and their

duration, should be limited and restrictively spelled out in the constitution, taking as a base the regulations established by the Constitution of 1925. There should be no other states of exception or emergency other than those that the Fundamental Charter lists, nor should they be allowed to be declared without authorization of the national congress, except in certain urgent cases and in a provisional way by the president of the republic.

We think that neither the state of martial law nor any state of exception can suspend the full force of the right of habeas corpus for jurisdictional protection of personal liberty. The special powers with which the executive may be invested in emergency situations for the internal or external security of the state, the preservation of the constitutional system, or the defense of public order can never justify unwarranted imprisonments, banishments, exiles, or other arbitrary steps. The Judicial Power and the Constitutional Tribunal must always be able to review any step that affects the fundamental rights of human beings.

XI We agree that substantial reforms should be made in the Judicial Power in order to ensure its real and effective independence.

Our study group contends that our nation can not remain indifferent to the grave crisis facing the Chilean judicial system, a crisis characterized by the practical decline of the very concept of judicial power--to the point of becoming just a state activity without any more independence than that of an autonomous public agency; the lack of material resources; the inadequacy of compensation; the lack of professional training of magistrates; the absence of jurisdictional protection for very broad sectors of the national community; the existence of proceedings that are so lengthy, tiresome, and costly that they cause people to take the law into their own hands or to renounce their rights; the image of judges remote from the realities of social life and impervious to human needs; and what has been most serious and tragic in recent years, the inability of the judicial system to give prompt and effective protection to those whose fundamental human rights have been abused.

To overcome this crisis, we think that the constitution should establish for the administration of justice an institutional system that effectively creates a Public Authority as an upholder of the state of law, possessing true autonomy and independence from the other state powers, with the ability to decide matters within its sphere of activity freely, and to ensure compliance with its decisions.

We think that the constitution should establish the institutional bases that will make it possible to carry out a policy for the judicial sector, which includes an ongoing study of our national legal needs and their suitable satisfaction, especially in order to achieve an effective integration of the entire national community in legal life and to bring to an end the exclusion of some persons from the judicial process, by ensuring to all a free and equal access to the courts, with no payment required for those who can not pay. The judiciary should also be given the powers and human and material resources it needs to fulfill its functions in accordance with the possibilities of the state and the prescribed and harmonious priorities required for the general welfare.

We believe it is necessary to reestablish the use of the principle of unity of jurisdiction which means giving the Judicial Power full jurisdictional functions, without detriment to the maintenance of certain specialized tribunals within the unified organization. This will permit establishing, once and for all, a contentious-administrative legal system, to ensure the use of the regulations legally governing the actions of the state administration, by controlling its excesses and abuses. The only exception to the principle of unity of jurisdiction would be Constitutional and Electoral Justice.

It also seems essential to us to establish mechanisms to ensure appropriate training and improvement of the personnel of the Judicial Power system; the stability of magistrates, which without compromising their independent judgment in the matter of judicial decisions, would require that they perform their official duties properly.

To achieve these objectives, we propose the following reforms of the constitutional Judicial Power system:

1. The creation of the National Council of Justice, a top-level political legal body, composed of representatives from the state and from academic and professional sectors, and presided by the President of the Supreme Court, whose principal functions would be the formulation of a policy on justice to properly meet the nation's legal needs, to monitor the independence of Judicial Power, to look after its good operation, to draft its budget for submission for approval by the congress, and to administer all the budget items that are allocated to the Judicial Power system. It would also work to promote the improvement of court employees, initiate legislation in matters pertaining to its competence, propose the issuing of Supreme Court rulings, draw up three-person slates for the selection of the court's judges, and take part in the appointment of the president of the court.

2. The creation of a "Judicial School" which, under the guidance of the National Council of Justice, would train beginning judicial magistrates and would be involved in their advancement during their judicial career, by giving refresher courses that will have an important bearing on their promotions.

3. The strengthening of the duties and authority of the Supreme Court, whose president should be formally and effectively the head of Judicial Power, and the modification of its composition so that it would include persons of moral and professional excellence who would bring the court, along with their ability and experience, broader information about the social realities of the nation. For that purpose, we propose that the judicial career end with the position of judge of the Court of Appeals and that the post of judge of the Supreme Court be placed outside of the judicial roster. This position should be filled by the president of the republic, who would choose from a slate of three persons proposed by the National Council of Justice, based on the candidates' records. The law would provide that the court would have two-thirds of its members drawn from the judicial career and one-third would be persons from outside the judicial system who could meet certain requirements.

4. The modification of the judicial roster in order to decrease the number of grades to avoid a constant turnover because of promotions, a condition that now exists; greater importance should be given the Judicial School both in the start of the judicial career and for later promotions; alternates and temporary officials should be appointed directly by the Superior Tribunal, and reasons for dismissal should include: the fact of reaching a certain age, of remaining in the same post for a particular period of time without meeting the necessary requirements for promotion, and remaining listed in the annual quota for elimination because of having obtained the lowest qualifications in that period.

XII We agree that the representative nature and powers of the Constitutional Tribunal should be increased.

We think that the Constitutional Tribunal that was established by the reform made in the Constitution of 1925 in 1970 should become one of the most solid supports for the state of law.

Therefore, we suggest that apart from the functions it had in the constitutional system in effect on 11 September 1973, it should also have the following powers:

1. To resolve formal or procedural conflicts that arise during the handling of a proposal for constitutional reform.

2. To extend its legal authority to the issuance of opinions on challenges to the constitutionality of laws, international treaties, decrees with the force of law, and Supreme Court rulings, within 30 days after their promulgation, at the request of the attorney general, and to declare unconstitutional at any time those legal regulations which the Supreme Court has on three occasions declared invalid as being contrary to the constitution.

3. To make known the resources that any person, acting through the Defender of Human Rights or the Public Ministry, may invoke to protect the rights which the constitution guarantees the residents of the republic, especially personal liberties when a violation is alleged to have occurred during a state of emergency, when ordinary judicial life was not operating, relying on the facts as established by the ordinary judicial system.

We propose that the composition of the Constitutional Tribunal be modified to give it the highest ranking and degree of representation, by composing it as follows: a) with three judges appointed by the Supreme Court; b) with three judges appointed by the Senate from a list of 10 names proposed by the Chamber of Deputies; c) with three judges appointed by the president from among professors of public law from some of the universities recognized by the state. The members of this tribunal will be independent, responsible, will not be removable from office, and will remain in office for 6 years.

In presenting these ideas for the consideration of our fellow citizens, we wish to shape a political system that may give Chile a future of peace, justice, and liberty. We are of course aware that no political constitution and no law, no matter how perfect they may be, can by themselves alone ensure that these ideals will become a reality. Their function is solely to establish the basic rules for living together in society that will enable the people themselves to work day after day in the pursuit of justice, peace, and liberty to which they are entitled.

Within our general framework of proposals, we want to emphasize the vital nature of two essential constitutional hypotheses, which are irreplaceable and indispensable if we want to create a truly democratic institutional system.

The first is the requirement which we have already stated that the constitutional reform be an authentic expression of the sovereignty of the people, since all authority, including and even primarily that of the Constituent Power, is based on the will of the people expressed with the necessary guarantees.

This leads us to the inevitable necessity for a Constituent Assembly, to be formed democratically, which will debate the constitutional reform.

The second is to ensure the real force of the rights of human beings, a fundamental objective of any civilized constitutional code. Quite rightly, it has been said that "the constitution is designed--this is its very purpose--to prevent experiments with the fundamental rights of individuals."

Such fundamental rights form the channel where all the springs of humanist thought join, that is, of the concept of man as an integrated and not divided being, a person who cares about others and is not self-centered, valued for what he is and not for what he owns, perfectible through his own efforts, related productively with other people and with nature, a person who believes in the unity of the human race, who aspires to a peace based on justice, and for whom work is not a commodity subject to market fluctuations, but rather a profound expression of his being which truly identifies him.

Therefore, our proposals are aimed at the full and complete existence of human rights as an inseparable whole, in which there are no priorities or preferences of any sort. For that reason, all these rights have equal importance: freedom of conscience and of expression, freedom to meet and associate peacefully; the right to work and social security, as well as to rest and education; the right to equality before the law, and to trial by due process of law. All these liberties and rights combined can make of the human being a worthy creature in whom all his potential can be realized and who is capable of attaining a high degree of perfection.

In accordance with these statements, it may be seen that throughout our work and in very different ways, our proposals call for the existence and functioning of many instruments and mechanisms to guarantee in reality, and not in words alone or just on paper, the effective existence of human rights.

We hereby state with full conviction that there can be in Chile no peaceful coexistence, nor can we Chileans call ourselves "free" except on the basis of an order resulting from a great national agreement based primarily on the unrestricted respect for those rights and liberties for each and everyone of the residents of our land, an agreement oriented toward the achievement of integral justice.

And for all Chileans who truly want to restore democracy, but who in good faith wonder how to do so, or who doubt the possibility of achieving a national consensus, we give you our proposals, as a clear proof that with good will, without hatred or prejudice, it is possible to reach such fundamental agreements among Chileans from all ideological backgrounds--as we are--and we ask that you think about them as serious and viable bases so that, continuing the mandate of its destiny and its history, Chile may again meet with democracy.

7679

CSO: 3010

ECUADOREAN OFFICER EXPLAINS FUNCTIONS OF INSTITUTE

FL242045 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 2006 GMT 24 Oct 79 FL

[Text] On behalf of the institute which I head, I want to convey cordial and warm greetings to the Cuban people, Gen (Antonio Moral) has declared. He heads an Ecuadorean government delegation that is visiting our country.

General (Moral), who is director of the Ecuadorean National Institute of Higher Education, told the NATIONAL NEWS AGENCY that the function of the institute is to train officials as future government advisers. The Ecuadorean officer, who is accompanied by several professionals who are studying at the institute, added that the training lasts 1 year and the subjects taught are related to his country's problems and possible solutions.

General (Moral) said this is his second visit to Cuba and that he truly admires the achievements of the Cuban people in recent years.

CSO: 3010

HAVANA PRESS AVOIDS 'DRAMATIZING' GUANTANAMO MANEUVERS

FL251410 Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 20 Oct 79 p 11 FL

[Text] Havana, October 19 (CANA-REUTER)--The Cuban press today avoided dramatising United States disembarkation manoeuvres at the U.S. Guantanamo Naval Base in eastern Cuba.

The official daily newspaper GRANMA today and yesterday published only inconspicuous reports of the exercises.

The evening paper JUVENTUD REBELDE did not mention the landings at all last night, nor did this week's editions of the news magazine BOHEMIA or the armed forces magazine VERDE [VERDE OLIVO].

The Cuban news agency PRENSA LATINA has issued regular round-ups of condemnations of the manoeuvres from other countries, but Cuban leaders have not spoken out publicly against the exercises since they began last Wednesday.

President Fidel Castro said last month that Cuba would not be intimidated if Washington sent reinforcements to Guantanamo.

GRANMA ridiculed the manoeuvres on Wednesday with a cartoon depicting them as "The Caribbean Comedy" showing U.S. marines afraid of sustaining minor injuries.

CSO: 3020

HAVANA REPORTS LOWEST INFANT MORTALITY RATE IN LATIN AMERICA

FL171107 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1030 GMT 17 Oct 79 FL

[Text] Cuba has delivered an encouraging report at the UN General Assembly on the status of children in our country which contrasts with the dramatic situation of children in Latin America and the Caribbean.

The report, presented by Electra Fernandez, president of the Cuban Children's Institute, notes that the infant mortality rate for 1979 [as heard] in Cuba has been 23.3 per 1,000 live births, the lowest rate in Latin America. The report emphasises that this achievement is directly related to proper pre-natal care in hospitals, regular maternal and infant care and a significant increase in medical personnel. Currently, Cuba has one doctor for each 662 inhabitants, one dentist per 2,960 inhabitants and one nurse or assistant nurse per 363 inhabitants, the report explains.

The report adds that malaria and poliomyelitis have been eradicated as a result of ongoing campaigns while mortality from gastroenteritis has been reduced tenfold and tetanus among infants has been eliminated.

In the education field, the report indicates that children are guaranteed not only the right to education but also full access free of charge to all levels of education, including higher education.

This contrasts dramatically with the situation in Latin America where 1 million children die annually, 3 million are forced to work, 60 percent of the child population do not eat meat or drink milk and the number without schools will reach 38 million by 1980.

CSO: 3010

PROBLEMS OF LAW, ORDER, DISCIPLINE, ABSENTEEISM AIRED

Assembly Committees Study Bills

FL181221 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1145 GMT 18 Oct 79 FL

[Text] The 20 standing committees of the National People's Government Assembly are studying 14 draft bills. These bills include the civil and traffic codes and laws on highways, registration and control of vehicles, amendment of the penal procedures law, and law on the financial responsibility of administrative executives and workers. Other matters of vital importance for this country also are under study. These matters include labor discipline, port activity, utilization of tourist installations and highway maintenance.

Blas Roca Statement

FL182058 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 1800 GMT 18 Oct 79 FL

[Text] The national meeting of the chairmen of the People's Government Executive Committees has concluded following two days of debates and analysis on the application of the guidelines set down by Commander in Chief Fidel Castro at the National People's Government Assembly and by army Gen Raul Castro in Camaguey.

The first topic discussed at the large meeting was the analysis of the electric service with the participation of Electric Power Industry Minister Jose Luis Beltran who presented a report referring to the increased percentage in meter readings and a considerable decrease in errors in these readings. He also dealt with the billing pilot project in various municipalities and its regular development.

Another topic dealt with was improving the quality of maintenance and the elimination of the well-known illegal electric power line hook-ups. This latter point was overfulfilled by 50.1 percent. Work is being done in the second half of the year so that by the end of the year 90,000 illegal power line hookups will have been eliminated and to extend electric power lines to other areas.

Another point dealt with at the People's Government meeting was the handling of agricultural products. Jose Rameriz Cruz, member of the Central Committee and president of the National Association of Small Farmers [ANAP], and other leaders of that organization, the Foreign Trade Ministry and People's Government Packing Houses discussed the need to expedite handling in the peasant sector and overcome deficiencies and difficulties resulting from the shortage of containers, lack of transportation, state of roads and other factors which have a negative effect on this activity. As a result of this analysis it was decided to start by searching for all necessary formulas so that products are not lost in any way, and for these products to arrive in good condition and in time for consumers.

On its second day of meeting the assembly discussed the plans regarding the recreational plans for workers. Joaquin Congora, president of the National Institute of Tourism, spoke at the meeting which was attended by Roberto Veiga, Secretary General of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers--CTC. Among the solutions offered to guarantee recreational activities were four proposals presented dealing with camping, bus parking, club lockers and excursions. The solutions presented provide for facilities so that the greatest number of workers can enjoy, during the summer months, these plans and take advantage of their deserved vacations while at the same time guaranteeing worker recreation on weekends.

The next point in the order of the day was the answer to Fidel's statements at the National Assembly last July regarding the breakdown of administrative work and social discipline in the country. The various presentations by the chairmen of the Provincial Executive Committees discussed the plans for measures to be taken in provinces and municipalities to be carried out down to the local level as a way of increasing a demanding attitude and resolving problems without justifying deficiencies.

In one of the presentations Roberto Ogando from the Isle of Youth referred to the experience based on a school which was damaged by students at the end of the school year. Based on this problem it was decided that those responsible for the damages would pay for the damages and work in repairing and renovating the school during their vacations. It has now been established that those who damage social property in schools will pay and do repairs on Saturdays.

Other topics of poor discipline, negligence and poor work in various places in the country were dealt with as well as their immediate solutions.

At the end of the sessions of the fifth meeting of chairmen of Provincial People's Government executive committees Blas Roca, president of the National Assembly, spoke stating that the discussions had been rich and profound and at the same time he stated that this was an important exchange of experiences in applying the directives issued in Fidel's and Raul's speeches. In his remarks Blas also referred to possible causes for the lack of firmness, thoughtless work, poor discipline and other ills and he also emphasized the need to face these situations in their full reality and to look at them in their true dimensions.

Another topic discussed by the National Assembly President was that of the need to review and inspect offices and to evaluate cadres, stating that the research and analysis should be in depth. In concluding his remarks Blas Roca stated that they had to end poor discipline and softness which still exist in our management, starting with ourselves.

Additional Roca Remarks

FL181057 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1030 GMT 18 Oct 79

[Text] The meeting of chairmen of Provincial People's Government Assembly Executive Bureaus has concluded in Havana with an analysis of the fulfillment of guidelines established by Commander in Chief Fidel Castro at the last session of the National People's Government Assembly.

Faustino Perez, member of the Party Central Committee and chief of its local governments department, chaired the meeting in which the chairmen of executive bureaus of the 14 provinces and Isle of Youth Special Municipality gave reports.

Reporting on Havana City Province, Oscar Fernandez Mell referred to the lack of discipline in transportation, production and services. For his part, Roberto Ogando reported on experiences gained in the application of revolutionary demands on the Isle of Youth and on strengthened discipline in rural schools.

Blas Roca Calderio, member of the party politburo and president of the National People's Government Assembly, made the closing remarks. Roca asserted that the meeting had turned into a production exchange of experiences on the implementation of Fidel Castro's guidelines at the National Assembly and of Raul Castro's speech at the commemoration of the Youth Labor Army Anniversary in Camaguey.

Being demanding is not a campaign but a prolonged and persistent struggle today, tomorrow and thereafter, the National Assembly president emphasized. Roca cautioned the participants about distorted interpretations of the need to be demanding at work places. Roca said he was confident that positive results would be obtained from the struggle undertaken to end negligence and softness, beginning with people's government leaders themselves.

Executive Committee Hearings

FL171102 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1030 GMT 17 Oct 79 FL

[Text] The participants at the meeting of chairmen of people's governments executive committees being held in Havana have decided to send a message of support to Commander in Chief Fidel Castro for his recent speech at the 8th General Assembly.

Chaired by Blas Roca, member of the PCC Politburo and president of the National Assembly, the meeting examined on its first working session the fulfillment of National Assembly recommendations concerning electric power service, harvest of farm goods and an evaluation of problems reported in the "Action Line" section of the newspaper GRANMA.

The participants at the meeting congratulated the Electric Power Industry Ministry for its success in carrying out National Assembly recommendations. The congratulations came after remarks by Electric Power Industry Minister Jose Luis Beltran who said that mistakes made in reading electric power meters were the cause of most of the complaints from consumers.

For his part, Blas Roca hailed the work of that ministry and said it was necessary to prevent the installation of new illegal electric lines.

The provincial leaders also examined problems that are affecting the harvesting of farm products, the status of transportation service and the link between different factors which affect the work of sugarcane collection and preprocessing centers.

Jorge Enrique Mendoza, member of the Party Central Committee and director of the newspaper GRANMA, spoke at the meeting. He discussed the problems reported in the "Action Line" section.

Vilma Espin on Crime Prevention

FL181732 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1700 GMT 18 Oct 79 FL

[Text] Vilma Espin, member of the Party Central Committee and president of the Federation of Cuban Women [FMC] has suggested ways to improve the joint crime prevention work of the National Revolutionary Police Force and FMC. Speaking in Varadero, Matanzas Province, at the Third Seminar of Specialists on Evaluation of and Operational Work with Juveniles, she said it was necessary to join efforts at every district and city to convert unused areas into playgrounds for children in which they can receive pleasant teachings that will preclude their assuming antisocial behavior of grave consequences. Vilma Espin also referred to the work being done by militant mothers in the education field in order to eradicate poor school discipline and absenteeism which are problems that could work against current social patterns.

CSO: 3010

INTERNAL ECONOMIC CONDITIONS REPORTED TO 'GRANMA'

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 21 Sep 79 p 4

[Article by Gabriel Molina]

[Text] Oscar Fernandez Nell, member of the Party's Central Committee and president of the City of Havana Provincial Assembly, told GRANMA that the people should demand the presence of the appropriate center administrator when they receive poor service, so that they can assert their rights.

"The administrators should be present in their centers to deal with problems that may arise," he added, "as this is the only way to protect the majority from the lack of discipline which frequently victimizes the people.

"It is inconceivable that a revolutionary administrator does not see as his primary task the satisfaction of the public when his center is visited. If he were keeping a constant watch over what is going on, he would be able to detect deficiencies even before the public becomes aware of them."

Fernandez Nell said that most of the deficiencies in the service centers are attributable to a falling off in concern over meeting the standards of proper treatment and respect which have always characterized the services, the result of a lack of fastidiousness on the part of everyone.

"The officials should lean on the administrators, the administrators on the workers and the public for its part should not in any way tolerate improper treatment. The user is the best supervisor of the services; however, there must be no mechanisms of procrastination. The problem is not one of having a collection box for complaints. The reasons for complaints must be eliminated immediately."

He added that if a client is brought cold food in a restaurant or cafeteria, if he is offered a sharp answer or simply is not given an answer, if service is slow, well, he should not put it off. He should not put up with that. He should at once demand the presence of the manager and require that he be given good service.

"The mistreatment of the consumer cannot be tolerated," he emphasized.

Questioned about what influence can be exercised on the improvement of services in general by establishment of a tie-in between performance and wage, Fernandez Mell said that although the basic intent was to increase the desire to serve the consumer well in the centers, that kind of tie-in plays a part where services lend themselves to it.

He added that we should not forget that there are real difficulties with some food supplies and that efforts have been made to affect the direct consumption of the people as little as possible.

The President of the City of Havana Assembly reported that at present about 20 food centers of this province are tied-into one another.

"On the basis of surveys and the analysis made in the establishments where the tie-in system has been applied, there are factors which are contributing to progressive improvement in those facilities not only in the food sector but also in trade and services.

"In the food sector, we have observed quicker service and an increase in sales activities. The utilization of installed capacities is greater, and there is a decrease in the number of closed facilities. Absenteeism has dropped considerably; and the best possible utilization is being made of existing resources, as well as of equipment and production input materials.

"We have also observed in these sectors an increase in the level of worker demands on the administration and from the latter to superior organizational levels to resolve problems affecting the work unit."

As for trade activity, Fernandez Mell said progress has also been experienced with tie-ins similar to those implemented in the food sector. He mentioned that "better use is being made of available time; the flow of merchandise from the warehouse to sales areas has been facilitated, permitting better rotation of merchandise which apparently is not in demand by the consumers; progress has been made in organization and discipline.

"What is more, work is being done on plans to change the flow of sales which, added to the application of adjustments in standards, will assist in the extracting of the reserves of productivity existing in trade; and it is proposed to gradually continue expanding this system to the rest of the units with the organizational capabilities.

"With regard to the services sector; e.g., repair of watches and television sets, although better results have been obtained in the productivity of labor and utilization of the workday, such has not been the case with respect to the quality of the repair work done on these goods due to the fact that this is not tied into the worker's wages and does not review the quality of the work done by the shopworkers. Also the administrative requirements are not adequate. These things are contrary to the objectives of the tie-in system, if account is taken of the fact that it is not enough to establish a system. At the same time, it is necessary to check and require that all parts of the system are fulfilled.

"To eliminate both deficiencies, we are setting up the conditions for the application of piecework rates, with the understanding that there is a need for the wage earned through quality control to be in relationship with the rate of return of each of the activities involved. These measures will contribute to improvement of the quality of both specialties.

He added that training of the workers in the sector will contribute to the improvement of the system. Several courses were given last year, and others are planned for this year.

Fernandez Bell reported that last year services rendered in the watch repair sector totaled 1.5 million pesos and radio, and television repairs in the socialist area amounted to more than 4.5 million pesos.

He pointed out that the City of Havana has continued to increase in population. The purchasing power of the people has also increased which has caused a great growth in the number of household electrical appliances, without it being possible to increase the number of appliance repair shops at a comparable rate. For example, the number of television sets increased this year to 324,973 sets in the province, rendering the repair sector inadequate. We had to set up additional repair shops for television sets and watches and more places to receive the latter.

He added that the same thing is happening to Soviet washing machines, 100,000 of which have been distributed to the people since 1974. There are now also more than 227,000 kerosene stoves and 100,000 manufactured-gas stoves, in addition to 364,000 household refrigerators with the same number of repair shops, although this situation does not justify the subjective problems which also exist in this sector.

"We should mention one measure being taken in the three sectors," he said.

"Allowing for the limitations existing in each of them, the tie-in system is being applied in units which have guarantees of the needed resources. For this reason, in the food sector, for example, the tied-in units have not reached 10 percent.

"Finally, we consider it appropriate to emphasize the factor which will determine the consolidation of this task to the benefit of our people and upon whose fulfillment the future of the three sectors will depend, such and as proposed by Commander in Chief Fidel Castro in the National Assembly. This involves the role of requirements and systematic control which must be assumed by the administrations in the first instance and the workers as beneficiaries and executors of such an important effort. And this cannot be the task of a single day, but rather a constant continuing effort which characterizes the job."

8143
CSO: 3010

GARCIA FRIAS ANNOUNCES INDUSTRIAL PROJECTS

FL231227 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1100 GMT 23 Oct 79 FL

[Text] On the occasion of the inauguration of three data processing centers and an exhibit on computer technology in Guantanamo as well as a tour of the Juan Marinello Publishing House [Centro Poligrafico], Commander of the Revolution Guillermo Garcia Frias, member of the PCC Politburo and vice president of the Council of State, responded to some questions posed by newsmen on matters of interest to the population. The party leader referred to the work being carried out for the attainment of a total development of the country and mentioned Commander in Chief Fidel Castro's statements on the need for giving preference to the weaker provinces.

Garcia Frias explained that in the past Oriente Province, whose territory covered one third of the country, had a planning system in which that priority --the size and population of the territory--had not been taken into consideration. He said that with the new politico-administrative division new territories with similar characteristics had been created in order to match their development to that of the Cuban economy. Garcia Frias stressed that Guantanamo had no industries and now has the publishing house and a plant of cast and wrought iron, which will begin operating in 1980. Referring to another matter, he mentioned the increase in yield per caballeria in the cultivation of sugarcane and the results of the current coffee harvest with its high levels of collection and very small losses. He noted that Guantanamo is becoming an area as agriculturally rich as any other province.

Responding to questions on transportation and communications, the PCC Politburo member referred to areas of radio silence existing in some places in the province and indicated that the country is putting into operation a transmitter program to eliminate that difficulty in remote areas. He stressed that at the present time television has been carried to the entire southern part of the Sierra Maestra mountain range. With regards to the national turnpike, Garcia Frias said it was one of the ongoing gigantic projects which, together with the coaxial cable installation and construction of the central railroad all the way to Guantanamo, constitute extraordinary examples of what the development of transportation and communications will be.

Garcia Frias added that lines carrying 220-volt electricity from Santiago de Cuba and Moa to Guantanamo through Guayabal are presently under construction, and that Guantanamo will be tied into the national grid on the northern part of Baracoa. He stressed that the country's air service will grow markedly during the next 5-year period with nearly 40 new jetliners and added that the use of large aircraft is under study. In closing he said that an agreement had been signed with Hungary for the construction in Cuba of the first 400 (Zicadus) buses sometime in 1980. He noted that in order to solve the problems created by urban transportation, mainly in the capital where some three million people use buses daily, efforts will be made to continue the development of the national industry in addition to the construction of the new assembly plant.

CSO: 3010

HOME ELECTRIC APPLIANCE REPAIR PROBLEMS INVESTIGATED

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 19 Sep 79 p 3

[Article by Emilio del Barrio Menendez]

[Text] The prospects for solving the problems affecting the repair of electric household appliances were analyzed yesterday during a meeting chaired by Julio Camacho Aguilera, first secretary of the Party's Provincial Committee in the City of Havana.

Also participating in the analysis were Pedro Guelmes and Serafin Fernandez, ministers of Communications and Foreign Trade, respectively; representatives of the JUCEPLAN [Central Planning Board]; CEATH [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply]; BNC [National Bank of Cuba]; MINCEX [Ministry of Foreign Trade]; SIME [Iron and Steel Machinery Industry]; CETSS [State Committee for Labor and Social Security]; and the People's Government.

Among the political-social problems dealt with the most important were those relating to the sale of television sets that experience malfunctions after a short period of use; the sale of antennas and antenna lead-ins and the possibilities of repairing those devices.

Another problem analyzed at length was both the production of microwave ovens and spare parts for their repair. On this subject, there was discussion of various methods of guaranteeing the gradual solution of the problems being faced by the people with respect to this kind of oven.

Problems with respect to the repair of washing machines and refrigerators also were discussed, and various measures were agreed upon which may partially solve the problems consumers are encountering with those devices.

Once the speeches and analyses were ended, Julio Camacho Aguilera said that it was necessary to assign priorities on the basis of the size and function of the articles.

The meeting evaluated the problems now present; and it was determined that with the participation of all organizations, which in one way or another are concerned with these problems, solutions would be sought which will contribute to increasing the quality of repairs and maintenance of equipment, workshops and installations.

To the extent that solutions are found and applied, to that extent will it be possible to respond to the increasing needs arising out of growing ownership of electrical household appliances by the people.

8143

CSO: 3010

TELEVISION SETS NOW AVAILABLE FOR 650 PESOS

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 19 Sep 79 p 4

[Ministry of Domestic Trade note on sale of television sets]

[Text] As is known, television sets as well as other electric household appliances have been on sale for several years through the CTC/CI [Central Organization of Cuban Workers/Domestic Trade] Plan. However, the development of the policy established to facilitate the sales and normalization systems of the marketplace, combined with increased availability, has made it possible to gradually offer products for sale at more flexible terms, as was done with products in the parallel market or in the rationing system through 6-month coupons, quarterly installments, etc.

Beginning in 1978, this made it possible to also offer television sets on an uncontrolled sales basis at a price of 900 pesos cash, with sales provided for in the CTC/CI Plan being maintained.

Positive developments in the sale of this article has made it possible for more than 80 percent of the country's electrified towns to enjoy this mass broadcasting medium and has also permitted the offering of television sets beginning this month on an uncontrolled basis at the price of 650 pesos cash. This has extended the possibility of purchasing a television set to all sectors of the population and a single price is established for both kinds of sales.

This plan will be applicable starting 24 September in all provinces which have facilities for the initiation of sales, with provision made for the plan's application throughout the country before year's end.

These sales will not affect the CTC/CI Plan and its personal credit system, as all the bonds issued and pending issuance guarantee the assigned sets.

It is the intention of the Ministry of Domestic Trade to continue development of all the possibilities which subsequently will permit the uncontrolled sale on the parallel market of other electric household appliances which have the same market behavior as that observed vis-a-vis television sets.

CAMACHO AGUILERA ATTENDS HAVANA PORT CONGESTION MEETING

FL171553 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1500 GMT 17 Oct 79 FL

[Text] Julio Camacho Aguilera, member of the PCC Central Committee Secretariat and first secretary in Havana City Province, says that the work done in relieving the congestion of merchandise in the port of Havana has been positive. Between 5 and 15 October 102,890 tons of various products were picked up from this port area, thus reducing existing tonnage there to 110,930 tons. This success was achieved by the good coordination and common effort in the chain of port, transportation and domestic economy.

Nevertheless the work review meeting pointed out certain difficulties in the transportation and pick up of merchandise which resulted in 1,106 trucks remaining loaded in this period. In his remarks Transportation Minister Antonio Enrique Lussan emphasized the need to pick up 17,000 tons from the port and to unload between 15-16,000 tons per day until the end of the month to be able to receive the great quantity of merchandise which will be arriving beginning in November.

CSO: 3010

NIPE BAY PORT DEVELOPMENT WORK GETS UNDER WAY

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 21 Sep 79 p 1

[Article by Emilio del Barrio Menendez]

[Text] Construction work on the master plan for development of maritime facilities in Nipe Bay, north of Holguin province will get under way with the installation of two mixed-cargo wharves.

At this port alone in the enormous Cuban bay 10 wharves will be constructed in the next few years which will have a total length of 826 meters.

These wharves will handle fertilizers, general cargo, construction materials, containers, metals and merchandise transported by the roll-on/roll-off system (products which are loaded and unloaded from ships by means of wheels).

The implementation of the total master plan for the development of Nipe Bay--the third largest natural bay in the world based on size: 220 square km, with a deep channel entrance which at its narrowest point is about 700 meters wide--has been planned for 50 years. The following facilities are envisioned:

Wharves for ores, coal and oil. On wharves which will handle oil there will be a tanker terminal where fuel can be offloaded from both coastal vessels and supertankers engaged in international transport.

In the northern region of the bay, in addition to general cargo wharves, there are plans for the installation of a bulk sugar terminal, a naval construction and repair shipyard, in addition to a bulk grain terminal and a fishing port on the Manati inlet.

All of the port installations will be equipped at an advanced technological level which meets the requirements of international development of maritime transport.

At Nipe there are now three ports: Felton, Antilla and Guatemala. There is a small channel in the bay that connects with the broad bay of Levisa, on which the port of Nicaro is located.

The northern part of the region is rich in nickel, chromium, manganese, cobalt, iron, sugarcane and other products.

8143

CSO: 3010

CUBA

MILIAN ANNOUNCES NEW SUGARCANE VARIETIES

FL271217 Havana Domestic Service in Spanish 1100 GMT 27 Oct 79 FL

[Text] PCC Politburo member Arnaldo Milian Castro has chaired a meeting held in Cienfuegos to examine preparations for the next sugar harvest in that province.

Making the closing remarks at the meeting, Milian announced the introduction of 12 new sugarcane varieties in the country's sugarcane agriculture. The experimental phase on some of these varieties will conclude this year and the planting of each variety must be done under strict control.

Milian explained that the next harvest must be concluded on 30 April so as not to do harvest work in May which in that province must be devoted for the planting of 1,150 caballerias and cultivation, weeding and fertilization of the other fields.

CSO: 3010

JAMAICA URGES BAHAMAS TO CRUSH COMMUNISM

FL261610 Nassau THE TRIBUNE in English 20 Oct 79 p 1 FL

[Article by Gladstone Thurston]

[Excerpts] A high ranking member of the opposition Jamaica Labour Party [JLP] has urged Bahamians to "crush with all force even the very semblance of any communism in this country.

"If you do not, you will be dealing with a malignant cancer, a panacea for which has not yet been discovered as far as the English-speaking Caribbean countries are concerned," he said.

That warning came from JLP executive Dr D. K. Archer during an exclusive interview with the TRIBUNE. He told a chilling tale of communist aggression in Jamaica.

Jamaicans, he said, are embroiled in a fight to save their country from becoming another satellite of communist Russia and its lackey Cuba.

He severely criticised Prime Minister Michael Manley for "selling out" Jamaica to President Fidel Castro and Cuba.

"Manley is buying time so that with the assistance of Cuba, he will establish an English-speaking Cuba on Jamaican soil," Dr Archer charges, "but I want to tell Fidel, and in no uncertain terms: hands off Jamaica."

Dr Archer arrived in Nassau Thursday. He returns to Jamaica tonight. He said that he came to visit his friends in the Bahamas, among them being Education Minister Livingstone Coakley.

The communist aggression the people of Jamaica are faced with, Dr Archer said, has been spearheaded by the Cubans and accommodated by Prime Minister Manley.

Recently, in retaliation for a JLP protest march against Estrada's threat of "war" to the people of Jamaica, Mr Manley "joined barefooted Cubans in a demonstration in front of the GLEANER in support of the Cubans and Estrada," Dr Archer said.

"Manley's behavior seems to me to be comparable to an agent of a foreign power in view of the fact that he demonstrated with the Cubans against the Jamaicans," Dr Archer said, "and, amidst mounting support against his behaviour he has refused to declare Estrada persona non grata, he has endorsed Estrada's behavior by allowing him to stay."

In a more recent incident, Dr Archer said, Estrada and five of his Cuban body guards threatened to physically punch down Mike Henry, the JLP's candidate caretaker for central Clarendon.

"Who dare you tell me to keep quiet in my own country," Henry told Estrada.

Estrada reportedly rolled up his sleeves and retorted: "This is also my own country."

"What the people of Jamaica want to find out," Dr Archer said "is what secret treaty has Michael Manley made with Cuba that allows Estrada to publicly announce that Jamaica is his own country.

"I warn the Bahamas to keep their eyes open and crush communism with every force that the government has in its power, the position that we are enjoying now is not a comfortable one and we don't want it for our worst enemy."

Prime Minister Manley has invited the Cubans to Jamaica in such large proportions, Dr Archer said, "that he has a monster on his hands and he is too indecisive, too weak, to deal with the monster which is Cuba."

He challenged Mr Manley to join with the opposition and drive the Cubans and their ambassador out.

"Manley is deceiving Jamaica and the Caribbean," Dr Archer said. "He doesn't want peace, he is buying time so that with the assistance of Cuba, he will establish an English-speaking Cuba on Jamaican soil."

President Castro, he said, is not a liberator, but an imperialist who pretends to be a liberator.

"In the spirit of neighbourliness I appeal to Fidel to withdraw his troops off Jamaican Soil," Dr Archer said, "our heritage is not Spanish. We have nothing in common with the Spanish-speaking Latin background that leans toward our wanting to develop any other relationship than normal trade."

Dr Archer said he did not want to appear to be interfering in Bahamian politics, he merely wanted the Bahamian people to be aware of the dangers of communism.

SEAGA SAYS KINGSTON BECOMING SUBVERSION CAPITAL

FL261430 Kingston THE DAILY GLEANER in English 22 Oct 79 pp 1, 15 FL

[Excerpts] Mr Edward Seaga, leader of the opposition, told a gathering at the Tiger Bay Club in Miami, on Wednesday: "Kingston is now to become the subversion capital of the Caribbean, as a result of the posting of Estrada to take up that post there."

Mr Seaga said this as he spoke of what he described as "infiltration and interference" into Jamaica's affairs by the Cuban government and the role being played by the Cuban ambassador, Mr Ulises Estrada.

Following are excerpts from Mr Seaga's address:

Cubans Deeply Involved

"Cubans are deeply involved in the political affairs of Jamaica. They have become involved in the exchange of delegates to party conferences. They have become involved in the tactical and strategic support that goes on between the Cuban Communist Party and the People's National Party. They have become involved at every level of determination of the common political future and political strategy.

"The recent appointment of the new ambassador to Jamaica from Cuba further indicates that Jamaica is not alone in this design by which infiltration of the Cuban system in the Caribbean region is to take place. "The new Cuban ambassador to Jamaica is Sr. Ulises Estrada. He occupied one of the top positions in the Americas desk of the Cuban Communist Party. The Americas desk is responsible for subversion in the Americas. Sr. Estrada was a member of what was known as the "Palestinian Mafia." He was the head DCI officer in Egypt and has served in many similar positions as a high intelligence officer for the Cuban regime.

"Posting him to Jamaica has not been a demotion. It has simply transferred the Americas desk with its subversive intent from Havana to Kingston, bear in mind as I said before that two-thirds of the Caribbean are English speaking, hence it is of far greater convenience and it attracts far less notice for persons who have subversive interests to visit Kingston than to visit Havana.

Support to the PNP

Kingston is now to become the subversion capital of the Caribbean as a result of the posting of Estrada to take up that post there. The Soviet Union itself through the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is giving capital support to the PNP. They have signed a pact, an agreement, between them. They are providing technical assistance insofar as in training of candidates both in Jamaica and in Russia.

"What is the Cuban design about? It is to set up Marxist regimes in place of democratic governments, and to set up Marxist economies in place of market economies. The Cuban expansionism in the Caribbean is growing unchecked as an imperialist power.

"The parade of warships through the Caribbean is not the answer because we do not perceive a threat of invasion...the threat is through infiltration and interference. Those who value democracy and personal freedoms, initiative and enterprise, had better begin to consider the future of this area now constituting a new power block which is coming under Cuban and Soviet control."

Carib Neglected

Mr Seaga said it was not that the Caribbean has ever been abandoned, but it has been "neglected," both at the level of the external powers and the regional powers. He then went on to suggest:

"We must ask ourselves finally, what is needed. The Puerto Rican model has been followed with much success but not ultimate success. Because while the Puerto Rican model has been the system to utilize, Puerto Rican concessions were never available to that system.

"We have been following a model which has worked in Puerto Rico because of special concessions available to the Puerto Rican government by virtue of its own alliance and association with the United States. These concessions have never been available to the rest of the Caribbean. The Caribbean is far more receptive to private loans than public aid because it is based upon the strong and dominate private enterprise system which is the main thrust of the productive part of the national economy.

Trade Concession

"I would like to suggest therefore that there is great need for trade and fiscal concessions available midway between what is enjoyed by Puerto Rico and what is currently enjoyed by the membership of the Caribbean.

"I'd like to suggest further, that there is a need for a stabilizing political organization. The organization of American states is the organization that is the political super-structure of the area at the present time. It does not take much more than arithmetic to understand that shortly the O.A.S. itself will find itself outnumbered in terms of non-Latin states versus Latin states within that grouping.

"At that time it is my guess that it is likely to break. If that is to be the likely outcome, then it is best to grasp from now that situation and to structure an organization of Caribbean states to give political superstructure and organization to the Caribbean.

"Thirdly, in such an organization I envisage a consortium of interests comprised of the metropolitan and regional powers, comprised of the United States and Canada, France, Netherlands and certainly Britain, together with Venezuela, Colombia, Brazil and Mexico to say the least joining together with the Caribbean states in a consortium of common interest.

"Such a consortium would be able to generate and provide the necessary financial and trade flows which are the basis of the investment required to produce a better way of life for which Caribbean man aspires.

"The base is there already. We already have the common market known as CARICOM. We already have the Caribbean Development Bank. What is needed now is the political superstructure for democratic solidarity.

"The choice before us is very simple. It is whether we create new visions of prosperity and stability for Caribbean man, or whether we allow this frustration to divert him to the Cuban path.

CSO: 3010

JAMAICA

BRIEFS

MAHFOOD SCORES ILLICIT IMPORTS--The Jamaica Manufacturers Association [JMA] has threatened to withhold payments on exise and [word indistinct] duties on imported goods unless the government takes immediate action to stem the present incident of illicit importation. Speaking to JBC [Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation] news today the JMA President Winston Mahfood warned that if any manufacturer or group of manufacturers was penalized for such action all the association's affiliates would close down in solidarity with them. Mr Mahfood said his association has tried without success since the beginning of this month [words indistinct] government ministers involved, the necessity of closing the illicit importation of goods. But the situation had recently become [word indistinct] he said. The JMA president has estimated that the total value of the illicit goods now coming into the island stand at least at 50 million dollars. He said he believes the illicit goods which comprise mainly shoes, garments, electronic goods and handbags enter the island through free-zones, the airports and through the [word indistinct]. [Text] [Kingston Domestic Service in English 2130 GMT 26 Oct 79 FL]

MANLEY-U.S. TRAVEL INDUSTRY MEET--Prime Minister Manley is to meet with members of the travel trade in New York next week Tuesday. And although the meeting was set some time ago it's now being seen by some sections of the local tourist industry as a means of stabilizing the situation for the upcoming winter tourist season against the background of wide-spread publication of a speech in Washington by opposition leader Edward Seaga. According to tourist industry sources there has not yet been any indication of undue cancellations as a result of the statements. However the sources said the entire industry is [words indistinct]. In his speech Mr Seaga charged that the government is seeking a military solution to the problems of the nation. During this week there has been widespread publication of Mr Seaga's [?speech] in newspapers in the United States. [Text] [Kingston Domestic Service in English 2130 GMT 26 Oct 79 FL]

CSO: 3010

WORKERS FRONT DENOUNCES FSLN PERSECUTION

PA311418 Managua EL PUEBLO in Spanish 23 Oct 79 p 2 PA

[Text] Some leaders of the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] and the government unleashed a month and a half ago a dirty slander campaign against the Workers Front, the Anti-Somozist Peoples Militia (MILPAS), and against all revolutionary organizations created and controlled by the Peoples Action Movement (MAP). Taking advantage of their prestige, the radio, television and newspapers have accused our organizations of committing such crimes as land seizures and wage increase demands. They say members of the Workers Front and MILPAS are encouraging and promoting extreme leftist activities in Chontales, Chinandega, Rivas, Jinotega and other parts of the country. All this is absolutely false. We are not opposed to the peasants having land nor to the workers having a wage increase, on the contrary, we are in favor of it. However, because of the conditions left by the Somozist dictatorship, we have abstained from promoting acts which could contribute to anarchy and disorder and obstruct the nation's reconstruction. In this respect, we have indicated that a dialog is the best way to iron out the differences with the FSLN. We must say the campaign unleashed against us has had little support among the population, particularly among the working class. For this reason we have been able to continue our activities and maintain our revolutionary prestige with the support of the workers and people in general.

Now that the slander campaign has not resulted in what they expected, which was to have the people rise against us, they have proceeded to arrest our leaders and keep them in jail without specific charges, alleging that there is a state of national emergency. They are keeping our companeros in prison, an action which in no way benefits the revolutionary process. They have arrested not only our companeros, but other citizens whom they suspect could have some connection with the Workers Front and MILPAS. The pressure is on to prevent the workers from joining the Revolutionary Workers Central of the Workers Front. The Sandinist Defense Committees are checking and following our steps and the steps of those whom they suspect belong to our organization, thus creating a division in the masses. All these acts are a flagrant violation of the freedoms gained by the people in their struggle against the Somozist dictatorship. These were freedoms won by the people with their blood. It was not a gift as some hard-liners, who in the past

were hard-liners for the dictatorship, think. They are trying to wash out their past with a die-hard Sandinist attitude. So far, their actions have not given them the results they expected. However, they have obstructed our revolutionary duties because in prison we can only explain our views to the members of the army and the police, and not to the workers and peasants as we should be doing. The people, workers and peasants who know about the Workers Front and MILPAS have criticized the campaign unleashed against us. These people who support us include many Sandinists. Those who did not know about this situation are now beginning to worry because they know these accusations are false.

Meanwhile, the masses are concerned over the fact that the bosses and the bourgeoisie are pleased with the campaign unleashed against us. The workers realize it is not just a coincidence. The fact is that the people know from 40 years of experience that the oligarchy, the bourgeoisie and these sectors opposed to us are their real enemies.

Lastly, in relation to the persecution being carried out against our organizations, some members of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction voiced the opinion that we should not participate in the reorganization of the Council of State. They include us among those groups who never did anything on behalf of the people, and they even act as if we did not exist. Those who know better have been surprised by this attitude. Did not the Workers Front and MILPAS promote disorders everywhere? If we were such a small group, how were we able to carry out our tasks everywhere?

As you can see, he who talks too much ends up sticking his foot in his mouth.

Regarding the Council of State, we wish to say that we have never asked anyone for favors. What prestige we have, we have earned. To be a member of the Council of State is not a gift to us. We won the right to be a part of it with our actions and our relentless struggle in defense of the workers and peasants. However, we can be left out of the Council of State. The best way to do it is to keep us in jail so that others can take our place. Nevertheless, it is not going to be that easy because we are not just mere cadres. We are part of the proletariat and as long as it exists, the Marxist-Leninists and the communists will exist, and no one can prevent it.

[Signed] Daniel Castillo G., member of the Workers Front, 23 Oct 79.

CSO: 3010

GOVERNMENT ISSUES FISCAL REGULARIZATION LAW

PA311255 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 24 Oct 79 pp 1, 8 PA

[Text of Fiscal Regularization Law issued by the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction 23 October 1979; passages between slantlines in boldface type]

[Text] /The Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Nicaragua, considering: /

1. That reconstruction needs demand /special treatment/ for the economic losses caused by the monetary devaluation decreed during the Somozist dictatorship and the destruction resulting from the insurrection period that culminated with the liberation of our fatherland.
2. That the people are interested in regularization of the tax situation of all Nicaraguans.

/Therefore: /

By virtue of its power, the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction

/Decrees: /

/The Fiscal Regularization Law/

/Chapter 1/

/Regulations for the Loss From the Devaluation and the War/

Article 1. In order to establish the taxable income, persons who had liabilities in foreign exchange as of 6 April 1979 and whose liabilities have been duly confirmed, will have to reevaluate their fixed assets and inventories up to a 43 percent. However, total reevaluation must not exceed the increase in liabilities caused by the devaluation.

The above paragraph does not apply to financial intermediaries with liabilities in foreign exchange who may deduct the loss from the devaluation only from the liabilities in which they assumed the risk of the devaluation without transferring the loss to the borrowers.

Any loss arising from the devaluation and which is covered in this article will be chargeable and deductible only in the 1978-1979 period.

Article 2. The losses arising from destruction, fire, looting and other incidents which occurred during the insurrection period which ended on 19 July 1979 with the ousting of the Somozist dictatorship will be considered as extraordinary losses for income tax purposes only and must be charged and deducted in the 1978-1979 period only.

Article 3. The deadline to submit income tax declarations for the 1978-1979 period is hereby extended to 30 November 1979 except for those taxpayers who have been granted special periods. The taxpayers who had submitted their declarations before this law went into effect will have to make the corresponding adjustments within the period noted in this article.

/Chapter 2/

/Payment of Overdue Taxes/

Article 4. Whether or not they have submitted declarations, taxpayers are exempted from the payment of fines and of 50 percent of unpaid income taxes for the taxable periods of 1975-1976, 1976-1977, 1977-1978 and 1978-1979 and of taxes on real estate and movable goods for the periods 1975-1976, 1976-1977, 1977-1978 and 1978-1979 as long as they make their declaration and pay the nonexempt 50 percent before 31 December 1979.

The present exemption does not apply to:

1. Taxpayers who through concealment, evasion, simulation or fraud pay less than the amount to which they are really liable in the aforementioned periods or pay less than their due income tax in 1978-1979 and less than their due tax on real estate and movable goods for 1979-1980.
2. Taxpayers who fail to pay their due taxes within the established period.

The aforementioned exemption will apply only to /overdue taxes for the stipulated periods./

Taxpayers covered by the exemption will be exempt from all fiscal responsibility. [as published]

Article 5. In the case of taxpayers who made pay arrangements with the general internal revenue office after 19 July 1979, the benefits of this law will be applicable to pending balances.

Special pay arrangements granted administratively before 19 July which run contrary to the law will be declared invalid and the taxpayers involved will be obliged to make a declaration and pay the respective taxes in accordance with existing provisions. They will be entitled to the benefits granted in the preceding article.

Article 6. Taxpayers who have appeals or claims pending resolution will have a period equal to that established in Article 4 [to make payment] counted from the date on which they are notified of the ruling in their cases, which will be considered as the implementation date of this law.

Article 7. Taxpayers who fail to take advantage of the provisions of Article 4 will be considered in arrears with the treasury for all periods not covered by the exemption and will be subject to legal collection measures for the entire amount owed. In such cases, administrative exemptions or fine reductions or reductions for alleged cause will be prohibited.

/Chapter 3/

/Penalties/

Article 8. Taxpayers who by concealment, evasion, simulation or by any other action incur in fraud in the fulfillment of their fiscal obligations will be guilty of the crime of defrauding the state, a crime which is punishable by 1 to 3 years imprisonment. Following a report submitted by the general internal revenue office, the corresponding penal actions will be taken by the attorney general's office through the regular courts. The general provisions of the penal code will be applicable to this crime.

In any case, if the person involved should redeem the entire debt to the state, legal proceedings will be suspended or the penalty lifted.

Taxpayers who fail to present their tax declaration within the stipulated period will be liable to a fine of 5 percent of the tax due, independently of other fines for delayed payment.

Article 9. In the event the taxpayer is a corporation, penal responsibility will be applied to the persons involved in the fraud, as is the case in crimes committed by several individuals.

Article 10. The present law will become effective today, from the moment of its publication by any mass communications medium, without precluding its subsequent publication in the official gazette.

/Done in the city of Managua, 23 October 1979, year of national liberation.
Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction: Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, Sergio Ramirez Mercado, Alfonso Robelo Callejas, Moises Hassan Morales, Daniel Ortega Saavedra./

OPPOSITION LEADERS IN EXILE INTERVIEWED

Ferreira on Political Future

Caracas EL NACIONAL in Spanish 19 Sep 79 p 13

[Report on interview with Juan Ferreira, the exiled leader of the Uruguayan National Party, by P.S.A.: "Leader Juan Ferreira says: 'Uruguay Has the Biggest Percentage of Political Kidnapings'"; date and place not given]

[Text] Uruguay is the country that has the biggest percentage of political kidnapings in the world at the present time because the dictatorship has filled its prisons with over 6,000 persons out of a population that hardly amounts to 2.7 million.

This was disclosed by attorney Juan Ferreira, the exiled leader of the Uruguayan National Party and son of Sen William Ferreira Aldunate, who was the presidential candidate with the most votes in the 1971 elections and who sought asylum after the 1973 coup.

"We can say," he added, "that one out of every 50 Uruguayans has spent some time in the dictatorship's jails, a little more than a half a million persons. To this must be added over 3,000 dead and missing "

He said that he himself was arrested over 50 times and then forced to leave his country. First, he went to Venezuela, taking advantage of an invitation from then President Carlos Andres Perez, and later settled in exile in the United States where he has continued to work for human rights in his country, self-determination by the people, nonintervention and solidarity with those who are being persecuted.

"This time," he noted, "we have come to Venezuela to participate in the World Interparliamentary Conference at which violation of human rights in Latin America is being discussed as well as the situation in those countries that have neither a parliament nor public freedoms. Now we are going to take part in a debate on the 'Future of the Political Situation in Uruguay' tomorrow (today) at 1900 hours."

The debate in question is to take place at the Don Bosco People's Technical School located on Avenida Maria Auxiliadora de los Ruices. In addition to Ferreira, the leaders of other parties opposed to the Uruguayan dictatorship, like the former rector of the University of Montevideo, engineer Oscar Maggiolo of the Broad Front, Carlos Latchinian of the Communist Party, Ricardo Vilaro of the Group for Unified Action, Socialist Jorge Irisity and moderator Jorge Ornstein.

In Ferreira's opinion, "this is an extremely important event for the political future of my country. It is a matter of an innovation in terms of solidarity. First, the participation of the whole political opposition spectrum in Uruguay. Extremely diverse sectors that maintain their individuality and political potential in the past, present and future but are united in the priority of that historic moment, the overthrow of the dictatorship and the restoration of democratic freedoms.

"Second," he said, "this is not an occasion on which each of us is going to deliver a speech; rather it will be a round table discussion. I believe that this is a very encouraging fact for our country, the political maturity that implies that we different groups, recognizing our differences, sit down together about a table and in public to discuss Uruguay's problems."

Then he said, "and third, what seems to me to be more important — and this is implied in the invitation — is that we talk about the 'future of the political situation in Uruguay,' limiting ourselves not only to mere denunciation but also to a search for concrete solutions to pull us out of the crisis this depressing dictatorship has gotten us into."

Then he noted that "as our party has said, the solution must come through the participation of all Uruguayans and all parties, without exception, and nothing less than this."

"On the domestic scene, are there any important actions that reflect chances for a change toward democracy?"

"Advances in the struggle against the dictatorship have been made on the Uruguayan domestic scene. And the present meeting in Caracas is a reflection of what is going on inside the country. We must take into account the fact that in our country an extremely dangerous struggle against a repressive regime that knows no bounds is taking place. Nevertheless, during the past few months militant activity, characterized by the circulation of underground newspapers, communiques, declarations by the different political parties and labor unions, has reappeared."

He concluded, saying that, on the international front, they were relying on the solidarity of the democratic nations. And that one proof of the fact that the situation appears to be a favorable one is that, last 27 June when the dictatorship celebrated its sixth anniversary, an international news

agency interviewed different political leaders inside and outside Uruguay and, without prior agreement among themselves, all of them spoke the same language and coincided in their solutions to the country's major national problems.

Vilaro on Objectives, Activities

Havana BOHEMIA in Spanish 5 Oct 79 pp 64-67

[Report on interview with GAU leader Ricardo Vilaro and his wife Marta, by Sara Arias; date and place not given]

[Text] "As central objective we set ourselves the unity of the opposition forces in the struggle against the dictatorship and the unity of the left as a decisive factor in achieving that objective," Groups for Unified Action (GAU) leader Ricardo Vilaro announced. "Six years of prison and torture. Uruguay is today an enormous prison in which torture is systematically practiced. The amnesty and its seven points, an offensive weapon. Nicaragua's fine example. The promise to hold elections in 1981 as evidence of the dictatorship's internal collapse."

The interview was arranged for the morning hours but there was a contretemps and, while for all practical purposes we thought it would not take place, late that night Ricardo and Marta, his wife, let us know that they were expecting us.

We were already familiar with Vilaro's political and union activities and, perhaps because of that, we were surprised to find ourselves face to face with a young man with whom we could establish a bond of immediate communication, which permitted us in informal conversation to touch upon different aspects of his personal career, intimately linked with the struggles of the people of Uruguay, and his views — as leader of the GAU — on the current situation in his country.

Since his early youth, Ricardo has been active in the student movement, in the administration of the Student Center of the Faculty of Engineering and in the administration of the Federation of Uruguayan University Students (FEUU). His union activity in the Teachers Association began when he was teaching in secondary schools. Later he held the post of secretary general of the National Federation of Teachers, represented the federation in the National Association of Workers (CNT) and, lastly, became a member of the Board of Directors of the CNT and its Executive Secretariat.

"After the general strike that followed the 1973 coup," he told us, "I was summoned by the Joint Forces along with all the leaders of the CNT and, a few months later, thrown into prison until, thanks to international pressure, about a year ago, when I was released."

Vilaro explained to us that he is a member of the national administration of the GAU, as is also Marta, and that at this time he is a member of the Broad Front Coordination Committee abroad.

Political Front

We interrupted Ricardo to ask him how things were coming along with the GAU and about his part in the founding of the Broad Front.

"Well, the GAU were organized in 1969 as the end product of a process that began in 1966, at a time when the idea of a political front became established in Uruguay. Throughout the 1960's the objective of the leftist organizations centered about the problem of unity, but they did not find practical, concrete ways of formalizing it."

As an example, he cited what happened in 1962 when one segment of the left formed a front, the People's Union, which included the Socialist Party, and, on the other hand, another front including the Communist Party was formed, the FIDEL [expansion unknown], which were the voice of an anti-imperialist left, found in the unified mass organizations like the FEJU and the CNT. Both fronts shared important points in common; for example, they "fully supported the Cuban Revolution and were against oligarchies," but in spite of this they found no way of uniting.

Then Ricardo briefly described how there has been a radicalization of the class struggle during this decade, against governments that try to apply the policy of the International Monetary Fund, heightened by major repression of the people's union movement and the conflicts generated by it.

"All this gave rise to the formation of groups like the MAPU, the Uruguayan People's Action Movement, basically composed of Christian, independent and Marxist activists. There were groups composed of members of the UTE [Uruguayan Workers Union], the energy union, of bank employees, of the textile federation headed by Comrade Hector Rodriguez and of an association of citizens connected with the daily EPOCA. Then a process of discussion began among these different groups as to a basic document to summon the rest of the country's leftist organizations to a debate on unity.

"In the people's movement there were serious problems from the point of view of regaining possession, difficult problems involving conflicts in many unions. Politically, the country was in the midst of a crisis in which one could already gain glimpses of the problems resulting from the 1973 coup: economic stagnation, an ever more intense social struggle and, therefore, a polarization between two programs, the possibility of a change aimed at firmly implementing the program of the oligarchy and the imperialists or the other one aimed at implementing the people's program.

The GAU

"The coincidence of being faced with these problems," Vilario went on, "facilitated the creation of the GAU, which is a movement composed of students, factory workers — primarily textile — UTE members, bank employees and people from other walks of life, intellectuals and professionals, with a

component of Socialist Christians and another one that is Marxist. From the standpoint of the makeup of the movement, this means a whole ideological struggle in terms of a program of search, investigation and internally healthy confrontation in which elements of training, of Marxist theory will carry weight in a determining fashion.

"The GAU do not set themselves the objective of being a party, rather fundamental objectives: a front against the oligarchy representing all the social classes politically opposed to the dictatorship, on the one hand, and the unification of the different avant-garde detachments in order to create a single party, on the other. When we come up with this definition of objectives — in the final analysis the one responsible for the founding of the GAU — from the standpoint of revolutionary theory alone, the problem is much more resolved and defined than it originally was."

[Question] That is, the GAU are establishing a front policy line...

[Ricardo] From what was said earlier, it is clear that the GAU do not claim to compete with other leftist forces nor that we constitute the party nor that the revolutionary theory is our private property, nor that we alone correctly apply it. We are merely pursuing a policy and promoting unification in the direction of the front and the development of this policy.

Our comrade, Secretary General Hector Rodriguez, who is in prison, was at a meeting held during the "Progress" Convention, directed by Dr Quijano, along with four other comrades, a group of five, assigned the task of promoting in Uruguay a campaign for the unification of all the political forces of the left and of inviting segments from the traditional parties to form a broad front in opposition to Pacheco's policy, a policy of imperialism and oligarchy. And this team toured the whole country, city by city, village by village and in Montevideo, section by section. They attended factory meetings to establish the notion of a political alternative for the country, the role leftist forces should play and the possibility of creating a broad opposition front.

Then, with the conclusions drawn from this tour of the entire country, a proposal was worked up for each of the political forces: the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Christian Democratic Party, the GAU, and was then extended to segments of the traditional parties, leaders, progressive or populist senators or deputies, proposing to them the possibility of such a front. In the end, this process culminated in the formation of the Broad Front.

Therefore, the GAU have been in the Broad Front from the start because, through Hector Rodriguez' participation in that earlier movement, we were already promoting the possibility of unity and, when the Broad Front came into being with the well-known 5 February 1971 agreement, Hector Rodriguez became a member, not as an independent who had toured the interior of the country, but as secretary general of the GAU.

Later on, after the coup, the GAU were to be violently repressed, starting with the Engineering Faculty episode (a bomb was exploded to prevent the democratic forces who had won the internal elections from gaining control of the university) which was a pretext to intervene in university affairs and make use of us as a scapegoat. This meant prison and torture for 25 comrades. Successively during the dictatorship, year after year, they attacked and threw our comrades into prison. The harshest attacks were those made at the end of 1977 and in early 1978.

From Formal Unity to Real Unity

Today we maintain that our central objective is the problem of unification of the opposition forces and it appears to us that it is clear — and all the forces involved say so too — that the struggle against the dictatorship cannot be effective as long as each of us conducts it separately. No force can singlehandedly overthrow the dictatorship and, without a unified left, it would appear to be hard to achieve unity of the entire opposition. We must mobilize not only the forces of the left, which have been badly damaged by a repression that has been very severe these past few years, but also those traditional segments of the population that are against the dictatorship. And if we do not succeed in making progress toward unity of the left, the ability to facilitate concrete agreements on broad, antidictatorial unity within the country will not be possible.

[Question] What role do you attribute to the Broad Front in this process?

[Ricardo] We still think the Broad Front is in operation in the country, that it is obviously having difficulties, its movement has been very hardly hit with savage repression against a background of terror, but that its rank and file, its activists are still there, are there and everything points to the fact that they have not changed their political preferences. We think of the front as a tool which, in the short time it has been in operation in the country, has demonstrated that it enjoys an established position among the masses, that the rank and file committees have constituted an expression of the participation of the people in the very forging of this tool, that Seregni, who is its leader, has been arrested, General Seregni, prestigious inside of and prestigious outside of the Broad Front, thousands of whose members have been arrested, and, therefore, it is a tool of the people, one we must develop and wield with all our might.

Referring to General Seregni's career, Vilari described him as a distinguished soldier who through his position has acquired great prestige in the Army, while his experience in the field of politics also places him in an exceptional position. He was in prison, he tells us, obtained provisional freedom and remained in the country. He was later arrested, savagely tortured and is today in prison, but we know that he remains firm, preserves his integrity like a soldier, like a politician, like a man who has decided in favor of total warfare and the liberty of our people.

[Ricardo] Returning to the topic of the front, we think that we have to seek to develop ourselves, deploy our ranks anew and, among the forces comprising the front, move on from formal unity to real unity in which the front is endowed with a direction that it is effectively capable of conveying to its members. We believe that the front can and should promote the objectives of leftist unity. If there is a left that is not a part of the front, it will be incorporated into it or form an alliance with it, but the front has to be a factor so that this leftist unity may materialize and also so that antidictatorial unity may materialize, this constituting the key to developing a great national movement in a country in which the people are decidedly against the dictatorship.

[Question] How is work progressing in the direction of achieving this unity inside of and outside of the country?

[Ricardo] The truth is that the series of very severe blows dealt the different people's organizations have set us back in this respect. That is, lately, during the past 2 years, we have been able to reorganize, and also to begin to reorganize abroad. In Uruguay things are handled in another way. It is more an actual front, an encounter among members in which there is a potential for action, rather than for organizing the front as such.

Or rather, the political forces are today led from abroad and, if they unite there, they can have an effect on their respective members' ability to integrate with one another in Uruguay. Now this is happening against a background of harsh repression within which we can say that the dictatorship has crushed the people and succeeded in preventing them and their organizations from expressing themselves, but what it has been unable to do is to liquidate the resistance. They constantly attack us, the jails are always filled with prisoners, but we are always looking for ways of reorganizing the movement. That is, we are not yet out of the defensive phase. We are going through a period of resistance and through it looking for ways of reorganizing.

Now, we think the processes involved are moving more quickly and we are confident and hopeful that, if in fact the forces that have assumed this task achieve more genuine unity, they will mutually be able to achieve advances which up to now have been very difficult to accomplish inasmuch as each of them has individually and on behalf of itself taken action against the dictatorship and, as a result, has also had to individually absorb the punishment meted out.

Amnesty As an Offensive Weapon

From the political point of view, we have made progress with a very immediate, minimal program to deal with the situation and this may be summed up in terms of the demand for a total, unconditional amnesty, but one imbuing this watchword with a specific content, expressed in a seven-point platform that proposes: the liberation of all political prisoners, the reappearance of

all those missing, the suspension of all political and union requirements, the repeal of all institutional acts and the elimination of special legislation, the rescinding of dismissals of public and private officials made for political and union reasons, the return of those exiled and the restoration of all democratic rights and freedoms violated by the current dictatorial regime.

These seven points, which for us — for the entire opposition — the word "amnesty" at this time represents, imbue it with a content that converts it into an offensive weapon, not per se, because logically an amnesty has to refer to a struggle oriented toward the past, but in the sense that we know that these points are incompatible with the dictatorship. These points represent the conditions for reinstituting a different kind of coexistence in this country, so that the different forces can participate in its destiny. Therefore, this seven-point amnesty is a platform opposed to the dictatorship and designed to overthrow it.

[Question] What does this platform look like and what forces are supporting it?

Marta, who answered this question, spoke to us briefly of the struggle for an amnesty and the form it is taking in countries like Brazil and Bolivia, for example. She told us that the issue is beginning to be raised in various international organizations like the European Parliament, the International Secretariat of Lawyers, etc., where political leaders from different opposition organizations meet, leaders who assembled at the Paris Conference at which all these forces formally agreed — since a sort of consensus had already been reached — to adopt amnesty as a watchword and to accept the seven-point platform. The Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the GAU and the People's Victory Party (PVP) participated in the conference. Although ex-Sen Enrique Arro Wilson Ferreira Aldunate did not participate, he sent a telegram expressing his solidarity with the agreements.

[Marta] From that moment on, last December, an appeal has been made and a number of activities have been undertaken, designed to achieve that end. The consensus reached abroad had immediate repercussions within the country, in the prisons, in the factories, among the people in general. Pamphlets have appeared and, in the underground methods the resistance has now adopted, it can be sensed that the demand for an amnesty is general.

Gained from Prison

[Question] We would like you to talk to us about your experiences in prison. Where were you arrested?

[Ricardo] I was arrested in Montevideo, transferred to El Cilindro (a stadium fitted out as a prison) and then taken to intelligence where I was tortured and subjected to interrogation for 4 or 5 months. Later, when they tried GAU members, they also tried me for "subversive association."

no specific crime, no specific charge, simply the crime of association. I was transferred to Punta Carretas Prison along with 22 comrades, where I spent 4 years. I had already been a prisoner for 7 months.

What I can say of life in prison is that it is a harsh experience which cuts you off from your family, from your mother, from your children. You live psychologically at the hands of repression. To a certain extent, prison is a prolongation of the torture, although it was the country's lesser evil. But the kind of life you lead in prison, the instability of the living conditions, the fact that they take comrades out to torture them for a week, a month at a time and that they come back in terrible condition, all this creates an unstable situation which affects the prisoner.

At any event, in that prison as well as in all the others, as far as I could see and from what I have been told — you run into people who have spent time in Libertad Prison or who come from police stations — the prisoners in this country are holding firm, that is, they are subjected to physical torture, mental torture, /but the dictatorship does not achieve its fundamental objective of breaking the prisoner/ [in boldface]. They feel they have been imprisoned for fighting against the dictatorship; they feel they are patriots; they feel they are a part of the people; and also they think in terms of making the most of prison to train themselves, to learn, to develop their abilities, because they know that they will have to use all this to arouse the people once they are free.

From this point of view, for me the prison experience, with all its limitations, was positive, instructive. As did my comrades, I have salvaged from that life what they gave me, what I too could give and, despite what it means to have spent almost 9 years in prison, I can say that most of our comrades will also stand to gain from prison, just as I have.

They Are the Best of the Nation (Repression and Solidarity)

Many of our comrades are now prisoners. There are thousands and thousands of them. What is so bad is that these prisoners are the best of the nation, that is, the best of the people, in terms of both the struggle and the building [of a society], and, furthermore, there are distinguished activists from all opposition political movements. We have General Cerroqui who is — we might say — the political leader of the entire opposition movement, but we also have comrades like Paul Bendic, who has for several years been mistreated as a hostage and who is suffering from serious health problems, yet who is also holding firm. But he is being held prisoner there, although we would like to see him at liberty.

Then too, there is comrade Jaime Perez, the leader of the Communist Party, with whom we spent many months as prisoners at Punta Carretas, whom we saw taken from there to be tortured and who was tortured for a year in different places. He is now in Libertad Prison. Then there is comrade Hector Rodriguez who, aside from being secretary general of the CAU and leader of the Broad Front, we hold in especial esteem as a comrade. I worked with him in the

union movement and learned a lot at his side, about union as well as political affairs. Today, he is in prison, has serious health problems and we would therefore like to see him treated otherwise; but we also wish to say that, despite his physical condition, his attitude is one of readiness to do battle, of firmness and of not giving in by so much as an inch to the dictatorship.

There are also comrades who are missing. As regards us in particular, during the last blow we received at the end of 1977 and in early 1978, 20 of our comrades in Buenos Aires disappeared. We have no news of them. Of those that have in general disappeared in Buenos Aires, there are 120 comrades. This is also the case with Julio Castro, Elena Quintero, the clerk, Miranda, Bleier and Oscar Tassino. These comrades have disappeared in Uruguay. We fear that at this juncture they are dead.

In particular, in Buenos Aires comrade Gerardo Gatti, a veteran union leader, and an opposition political group, the PVP, have disappeared; also comrade Leon Duarte, who for over 20 years headed the FUNSA [Uruguayan Tire Plant, Inc.] and the CNT. Then too, I can mention comrade Hugo Mendez, a member of the CAU, leader of the Textile Workers Congress and the CNT. He was kidnaped in 1976 and we have heard nothing more of him since then.

Marta added that this sorry list includes the case of nine children who disappeared along with their parents.

[Ricardo] There are comrades who have been taken as hostages, nine men and several women. This is a situation we must call people's attention to because, while all these cases are serious and deserving of our protest, the situation a hostage finds himself in is in itself inhuman and against which everyone must protest. Only a dictatorship like the one we have in Uruguay is capable of maintaining such a situation. There is a difference in the treatment of prisoners as far as torture is concerned and also during the arrest. Depending on the selective importance accorded each prisoner or their political potential, pursuant to international pressure they resort to different degrees of repression in order to apply a policy of destruction to a given prisoner.

There can be no doubt that, if throughout the world in general particular attention had not been directed toward Uruguay and a major attack of conscience as to what the dictatorship is and the methods it resorts to had not evolved, many comrades who are today alive would be dead because the dictatorship is capable of killing. They have no scruples, no moral or ideological deterrent. They are for extermination and, if they have not gone that far, it is because the political conditions that would permit it do not exist.

[Question] What is the situation with Hector Rodriguez and what is being done to alleviate it and to liberate him?

[Marta] He was sentenced to 9 years in prison and has already served 5 and a half years. He is 61 years old and the state of his health is alarming. He was savagely tortured and left with permanent injuries. This May he had a blood clot in the central vein of the retina. Hospitalized as an emergency case, the treatment to dissolve the clot produced internal hemorrhaging which left him on the verge of death.

For these three reasons: completion of over half of his sentence, advanced age and delicate state of health, a campaign is being launched to have him pardoned, which would mean that the time he has served in prison would be deemed to be sufficient. This could be done legally under the dictatorship.

[Question] And you, Ricardo, when were you freed?

[Ricardo] On 7 April 1978 I was released at the decision of a military judge. As I was leaving Montevideo police headquarters, I was kidnaped by a Navy detail, dressed as farmers, and taken blindfolded and handcuffed to a military unit of the Naval Fuseliers. At that time international pressure saved my life; that is, the reaction inside the country as well as outside it, was very rapid and took place only a few hours after I was kidnaped. The Dutch ambassador as well as my lawyer and my mother took steps, approaching embassies, military units and the country's ministers, and abroad, beginning with efforts made by Marta, the entire Uruguayan opposition was mobilized as well as the different socialist and capitalist countries at government, parliament and press levels. As a result of all this, a few days later the Uruguayan Government admitted that I had been arrested and, following a certain amount of debate, set me free.

Vilaro wished to emphasize that the Naval Fuseliers constitute one of the most active centers of repression, where torture is inflicted with no restrictions whatsoever, except for the presence of a physician who checks on the prisoner's condition to see to it that he does not die, and which has one of the worst prisons in the country, housing people who have been there for several years living under subhuman conditions, and further that theoretically this prison does not exist because there is no way of taking public action against it.

Antihistorical Dictatorship

[Question] How do you think the processes developing in Nicaragua and Bolivia can influence the situation?

Here Vilaro spoke of what has happened in the southern tip of South America as part of an offensive planned by the imperialists, one which includes the successive coups against Torres in Bolivia, Allende in Chile and the coups that have taken place in Uruguay and Argentina, a policy directed toward extreme right positions in an attempt to force the world into a policy of war, a policy that furthers the establishment of military dictatorship in Latin America.

[Ricardo] The situation has been progressively undergoing change and a series of changes have occurred, among which the very fact that the OAS raised its diplomatic blockade of Cuba was perhaps one of the first symptoms, leaving open as it did an opportunity for the different Latin-American countries to resume diplomatic relations with Cuba. While the United States continued to maintain its blockade, this established a different kind of relation for the rest of the continent.

This was an indication of the balance of power in the world, one which also was fluctuating in favor of the forces of socialism and peace. Influenced by the struggle of the Vietnamese people, much of what happened later in Latin America in terms of its relations with the United States was the result of the defeat of the Yankees in Vietnam, which forced them to revise their whole plan for world domination. All these factors made it possible for the different countries of Latin America to have policies with regard to the United States that were a bit more independent, more autonomous.

We think that the events that have been taking place in Brazil over the past 2 or 3 years are an indication of a change in a country which since 1964 has constituted the continent's leading reactionary force, a dictatorship that has proclaimed the thesis of ideological frontiers and which today has reached a point where internal contradictions have made possible a change toward greater participation by the people and a measure of openness in the direction of democracy.

In Bolivia too, something curious has happened. Elections are being held that will ultimately create conditions on that part of the continent which in one way or another will be favorable to our people's struggle.

The Uruguayan dictatorship is an antihistorical one and the balance of power in the world is working against it. It is an anachronistic dictatorship. Moreover, it is ineffective, does not resolve any problems, the people are against it, the world around it is changing and we think that this will work in favor of our struggle.

Nicaragua, an Example for Latin America

But I think we should also stress what happened in Nicaragua, which is very important inasmuch as, after the Cuban Revolution, after the failure of many guerrilla movements on the continent, it was impossible for a Latin-American country to liberate itself. They wanted to make people believe, and it was to a certain extent proposed in intellectual circles, that the Cuban Revolution had taught the United States a lesson in order to prevent any real liberation movement and then they interpreted all repressive actions in Latin America as offering proof of this thesis.

And Nicaragua is an example of how people can find a way to liberate themselves, how for the first time (since Cuba) a revolutionary army was formed in Latin America and how the question of power in Nicaragua is established

such that the revolution is at the disposition of the people of Nicaragua. We think that this is an example for all of Latin America, furthermore signifying a reinforcement of the entire continent's struggle for liberation. From this point of view, Nicaragua has been of great help to us all and, in particular, to us Uruguayans.

[Question] What do you think of the issue of the 1981 elections proposed by the dictatorship?

[Ricardo] For us, it is not an issue; it is a dictatorship plan which is the product of its internal failure, the opposition of the people and international pressure, a change of image in order to pursue the same policy. However, if the dictatorship sticks to its schedule, it will turn out to be one of those cleverly designed elections which excludes the left and allows for the participation of the castrated parties — because there will be a prior weeding-out of 15,000 citizens who may not participate in them — and which in any event contains a contradiction that will result in cracks in the structure which the people will somehow take advantage of.

We think that the proposal the dictatorship is making at this time will resolve neither the country's economic problems nor the question of the people's participation in the political life of the nation and for this reason it is not what we propose. We have made our demand, the overthrow of the dictatorship and the participation of all political forces in every resolution that is adopted, in terms of institutional reform as well as of economic policy.

[Question] To what extent is the dictatorship capable of adopting the image it is attempting to present with the elections?

[Ricardo] This is precisely the problem facing the dictatorship, which has set the country on a course from which there is no turning back and placed it in a situation in which it continues to be subjected to repression, since for no reason at all there are thousands of political prisoners in the country and for no reason at all torture is inflicted on them. If the people agreed with it, they would support the policy of the regime. There would be no reason for repression, torture, killing. All this is done to apply an economic policy which, moreover, is unpopular and offers no other possibilities because the dictatorship represents oligarchy and imperialism, and these cannot provide answers to the country's problems.

So, the scheduled elections are an effort on the part of the dictatorship to change its image in order to alleviate the situation and, as has been confirmed, it wants to do so without losing political control of the country. While this is a necessity for them, it also represents a weakness. They know that the people will somehow express themselves and break through the barriers that have been planned. Therefore, to sit down and speculate whether they will pull it off or not is possible — we all do this — but in the final analysis is not absolutely important.

For us, the crux of the matter is how we organize the people, how we increase their ability to fight, how successful we are in shaping the tool that will make possible this will of the people against the dictatorship, so that this expression of the opposition — which we know exists — can be voiced. If we resolve this problem, things in this country will change.

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JAIIME LUSINCHI DISCUSSES AD INTERNAL SITUATION

Caracas BOHEMIA in Spanish 8-14 Oct 79 pp 20-25

[Interview with Democratic Action leader Jaime Lusinchí by Efraín de la Cerda; date and place not given]

[Text] For many weeks we had talked at casual meetings, get-togethers or just on the telephone, of the possibility of a lunch-interview. In fact, we did lunch together on one occasion, and we had a long conversation lasting nearly 3 hours in which, spurred on by a few drinks, we engaged in a wide-ranging review of the situation in Democratic Action (AD) and in the country in general. That lunch could have been a great interview, but Jaime Lusinchí asked me not to regard it as such. He wanted to proceed with caution now that he was at the threshold of a great opportunity in his political career. He did not want to precipitate events.

The issue of the consensus proposed by the Betancourt sector of the party began to pester him like a fly buzzing around his head, irritating him. Thus, he felt it was time to speak. We agreed to meet at the same restaurant where we had chatted before. There, ready to defend his new-found leadership, Jaime Lusinchí spoke very clearly with me about his firm desire to stay in the fray at all costs. It wasn't necessary to pay "all costs," however. The consensus document went to the AD National Executive Committee, and passed on with no great fanfare, pro or con. The mass media seized on the sensationalist possibilities of a rift, but it was no more than a "paper war," as he himself termed the crisis.

Much of what was said at that lunch-interview was obsolete within a few hours, and I had to go to his office to bring our conversation up to date. Jaime Lusinchí had obviously triumphed with his firm stance, and was emerging forcefully as a new AD leader.

[Question] It seems that in Democratic Action a new leader is emerging: Jaime Lusinchí. Is Jaime Lusinchí aware of the position he now occupies in his party? Or does he simply feel that he is immersed in the struggle for the general secretariat?

[Answer] I have always tried to fulfill my duties and meet the obligations that life has brought me. I understand that the position of secretary general would be a means to reach certain goals of changing and strengthening the party. It is not simply a matter of a desire to occupy a prestigious, high-ranking position, of enjoying the power; I perceive it as a means to an end. One time I said that I was a concept, and to a great extent I have always tried to place my life within the context of a line of action, thought and behavior that was very carefully defined.

[Question] One could deduce from your words that you have no desire to assume the leadership role that circumstances have placed you in, but sometimes life forces men to take on that type of responsibility.

[Answer] Of course a politician who did not aspire to be a leader would not deserve to be called a politician. Frankly, I do aspire to be a leader. But naturally the situation does not keep me awake at night in the sense that I am trying to precipitate anything. I have always known how to wait, and I will wait.

[Question] I think that when a politician is in action and is aware of the role he plays in society, a sort of political capital begins to attach itself to him, and if it is strong enough, it propels him to leadership. There is another type of politician who barely makes it into positions of leadership through party activities, but such people do not attract this capital because they are not sure enough; and these people do not reach the top. As I see it, Jaime Busiuchi is throwing himself into the conquest of the general secretariat because he feels he has enough political capital to assure him of success.

[Answer] Yes, without false modesty, I do believe that I have accumulated some political capital, and that it of course will come to my aid in the future. But I would point out that I have a very clear sense of our collective leadership, and I am acting on that concept sincerely. I believe that in order to lead a democratic and revolutionary political organization such as Democratic Action, there must be collective thinking, and of course I realize that collective leadership is the most appropriate and convenient.

[Question] It would appear that at this time there has been a restructuring of AD by group interaction. I think that the groups have already given way to two strong tendencies. One of them could be (although I'm not saying it is) led by Carlos Andres Perez, and it is said that you are included in that sector. The other is headed de facto by former President Romulo Betancourt. There is a smaller group that claims to be non-aligned, and makes no bones about it.

[Answer] I do not believe that this type of situation has arisen in Democratic Action. That is mere speculation, not a concrete reality. With regard to the names you mentioned, there would be different points of view concerning the interpretation of some political factors or certain aspects of national life, but of course these differences have not led to factions.

[Question] But they have led to a sort of struggle, and the consensus issue, now defeated, seems to be the result of disagreements between these two tendencies.

[Answer] I don't see it exactly that way. There is an old expression in our party that refers to "the powerless powers." There are a lot of people who like to go around talking, and since they have no real weight of their own, they claim to be emissaries of a great power when in reality they have never been granted any such power or authority. In the case of the consensus, I can tell you that Romulo Betancourt is not the originator of the idea. It was invented by Luis Pinera and Carlos Andres Perez, who were the first to use it; Pinera expounded on it in the Political Committee as part of his speech. There was certainly no debate on that issue in the Political Committee, and I think I am correct in saying that there was no atmosphere of consensus in that committee.

[Question] That was what was revealed to the media.

[Answer] In fact, Carlos Andres Perez also brought up the idea of consensus on that same occasion. Now, as everyone knows, Carlos Andres did not sign the letter sent to the National Executive Committee, where the idea of a consensus was formally proposed. It occurs to me that he reached the conclusion that at this point it is no longer appropriate; not because he did not believe in it as a desideratum, however. In fact, that is how it was presented. In addition, the idea of a consensus was the expression of a healthy concern in the party for protecting the integrity of Democratic Action. We were behaving like a cat who has been scalded once; we have had some bad experiences. The party has been through three ruptures, and of course each one caused a lot of damage. A new schism would be like a Hiroshima for AD. Without trying to utter mere platitudes, I should say that I do not see a crisis situation that could lead to a new division of the party. I will conclude by saying that the consensus issue was handled with great respect by party members; it was not an end in itself, but a manifestation of a healthy concern for party unity, a desire not to detract from important objectives such as restructuring the party and meeting certain requirements by labor and by politics in general which, naturally, deserved full attention.

[Question] During the critical moments of the debate on consensus, didn't the party mention the possibility of making Jaime Lusinchi a consensus candidate, given the high degree of political capital you claim to have within the party?

[Answer] The word consensus implies unanimity. Consensus, understood as a program, means to try to come as close as possible to unanimity. With all due respect, I feel that I have the backing of a substantial majority, and my actions and party history would support my position as a consensus candidate. Of course, there are other party members who could be in a similar situation, but I don't see why that privilege should not go to me. My candidacy would not represent a threat to anyone in the party. My candidacy would not mean any type of commitment within or outside the party, and would guarantee AD a new and dynamic prospect for recovery.

[Question] What do you think about the specter of the traumatic effect on the party that could result from choosing the secretary general by consulting rank-and-file members?

[Answer] I don't think that would damage the party. What would harm it would be apathy, inaction, just pointing a finger at anyone. . .

The interviewer's face takes on a severe look, denoting his total concentration on the ideas he wants to express. He emphasizes each word with an intonation that could be interpreted as annoyance.

[Answer] . . . That would do terrible harm to Democratic Action. No matter how impartial a person or group may be, there is always a natural tendency to choose those who are closest to one, with whom one identifies most; and often such people are not ideally suited to lead the party. I would point to the example of the restructuring that we did after the elections. The truth is that in some cases we were right, but in others we made some unfortunate decisions and have had to take some corrective action. Thus, the best thing is for the party to go through its internal process. But we must make every effort to ensure that the situation doesn't get out of hand. It occurs to me, for example, that we could shorten the time periods and create additional controls to prevent the process from extending beyond the strict confines of the organization. I share the belief that everyone in the party holds: people are sick and tired of the infighting in parties, and of the press getting ahead of matters that only concern the organizations themselves. None of this will prevent us from carrying out our internal process. If we were to suspend internal democracy, we would be killing the goose that laid the golden eggs. Furthermore, it would be an illusion to think that we could choose a secretary general by consensus without considering the rest of the political leadership, and the other regional leaders, and the other levels of party leadership, and the different labor bureaus: How would they be chosen? That is not possible; it appears to me that a secretary general chosen in that manner would be vulnerable to a resounding failure, because he would be a sort of conventional political superstructure built on air, with the real political power resting below him, telling him what to do. It would even be harmful to the person who was chosen in such a way. A secretary general represents a line, a tendency, a point of view in the party at a given moment. That secretary general would have to be accompanied by a team which would represent the aspirations of the political collective at that given moment. It seems to me absolutely illusory to imagine a man like a sort of miracle-worker, inflated with a special messianism, coming to the rescue of the organization.

We had two stiff drinks for the sole purpose of soothing our throats while we talked. We took advantage of the waiter's presence to pause briefly and order our meal. A rapid glance at the menu led us both to order onion soup and a delicious red snapper stuffed with asparagus. The Chatlis would serve to stimulate our taste buds, creating a favorable climate in our stomachs for agreeable digestion. We ordered and resumed our conversation. This seemed like a good place to change the subject, so I chose the topic of corruption.

question. I would like to move on to the topic of corruption, which at this time is being wielded as a powerful weapon to attack political adversaries. Democratic Action has suffered a tarnished image as a result of the misbehavior of some of its members. This is a public, well-known fact. I think that AD should take some corrective measures in order to recover, to save its image. We are aware of Jaime Lusinchi's clean record, and we would therefore like to know his opinion on this matter. Could this be the revival that Democratic Action needs?

[Answer] Thank you very much for your comments about me. I think that this entire campaign, the speculations, the half-truths, the big truths, the lies that have been told with regard to administrative corruption, have done real damage to the party and to the country. Like you, I believe that it is in AD's best interest to meet head-on any sign of corruption, any evidence of corruption within or outside the party. I think the party must resolve as soon as possible all situations in which a member of the party, no matter what his rank, has been implicated. I would say that this work should be done as fast as possible. Fortunately, the National Executive Committee has taken a series of measures, and cases as important as the super speculation concerning the Sierra Nevada are being handled by the Ethics Committee with great diligence. We are ready to make an ethical-political statement based on the conviction that the members of the Ethics Committee have about the matter. They are all highly qualified people with impeccable records, and the internal balance of the group gives them substantial credibility. Of course, we also intend to submit whatever funds the party may take in to the regular courts and to the competent authorities, so that they may apply sanctions in the name of the people. I believe that any hesitation on the part of Democratic Action would be very harmful. I even think that the party should spare no efforts in this area, because we have had plenty of accusations, accused and accusers in Venezuela, without a single jail term. The party should not limit its actions to that in trying to resolve any doubt regarding the past or present behavior of any party member. The party should in effect become the National Congress by anticipating the passing of three or four very important bills that are on the floor, having been introduced by us. These bills are very well thought out in legislative terms, and should be passed as soon as possible. I am referring, for example, to the Law on Administrative Procedures, which is practically ready; and the Law on the Protection of Public Property, which was drafted during Luis Pinerua's term as minister of internal relations and was later introduced before Congress by Octavio Lepage. The latter bill was the subject of a great effort on the part of a team of very distinguished lawyers, headed by David Morales Bello and Juan Jose Caldera, in the Chamber of Deputies Committee on Domestic Policy. Some very important observations were made there on the original bill, and I think they were perfectly acceptable in that they improved the legislation. Now it is up to Democratic Action, the Social Christian Party (COPEI) and the other forces that make up the Chamber of Deputies Committee on Domestic Policy to update the bill and put it to work by putting it before the full Chamber. Then there is the Law on Decentralized Administration, which is sorely needed in order to better organize the government. You know about the dispersion and arbitrary administration of these decentralized agencies, which are a real

drain. It is no accident that the most disturbing situations have been produced in the decentralized agencies. Thus, if we push these three bills through and also work on other penal matters and achieve the coordination of the police forces, we will be able to create quite effective tools in the struggle against corruption. I think it is also time for party leaders to engage in responsible talks and agree on the best way to combat this veritable stain on our democracy. It is not a product of democracy, but of a worldwide situation of deterioration; of course, here it takes on important proportions because of our immaturity as a nation and because of the tremendous treasure of resources that we are blessed with.

Lusinchi's opinion on corruption is clear and forceful, so I do not think it necessary to go any further into that issue. Therefore, I turn rapidly to his political relations.

[Question] How have your relations with President Betancourt been?

[Answer] My relations with Betancourt have always been very good. Romulo is my teacher; to him I owe my basic political education. On occasions that were difficult for Venezuelan democracy, for the party and for ourselves, we have been together; we have helped each other. I certainly have fond memories about him. I have great respect for him as a man, as a citizen, as a human being and as a politician.

[Question] You have said in your statements that the idea of a consensus was handled by Luis Pinerua. Can you tell what his intentions were in that attitude?

[Answer] I don't see any ulterior motive in it, at least not from the actions he has taken concerning the consensus. I would just like to point out that the first one to mention consensus was Pinerua, and Betancourt didn't even say anything at the Political Committee because he wasn't there. With regard to the letter, Romulo signed it, he agreed with it, but he didn't even go to the National Executive Committee; nor did Carlos Andres Perez on that occasion.

[Question] What do you have to say about speculation in the press that links you with some people who were allegedly involved in administrative corruption?

[Answer] There has been malicious speculation linking me with people or financial groups connected with the former administration. I am a friend of many Venezuelan businessmen, and I am not a man who disavows friendships. So I think it is inconsiderate of those journalists to try to link me with economic groups of any type. I have always claimed to be independent in my judgment, a trait which has often caused me problems but which clearly indicates that I am not a man who compromises or mortgages his ideas. My opinions on national development and social change differ substantially from the interest of any businessman. If I have made any commitment in my life, it is to the workers, and no one can deny that I have been very loyal to that commitment. I don't know why some columnists have belabored this issue; I would say that perhaps they are aiming in another direction. They should improve their marksmanship

and shoot where they really want to. But I am not willing to be used as a pawn in an attempt to hurt a third party.

[Question] I think there are some defeats that look like victories later on. It seems that situations repeat themselves in politics. Herrera Campins seemed to have been defeated at the Radio City convention where the candidacy of Lorenzo Fernandez was imposed on COPEI. Perhaps that defeat was what gave him his victory later, when he became president of the republic. Jaime Lusinchi was defeated in the internal confrontation with Luis Pinerua, but it seems that this defeat has resulted in a better image and increased popularity for you.

[Answer] Nothing is more educational than being defeated, especially when one suffers from a lot of pain. One then begins to look inward and to evaluate one's own mistakes. I have learned an important lesson from those days, and naturally I feel much more mature now. I am sure I will not repeat the errors of the past. In that sense, that defeat served as a great lesson for me.

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